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LORD CHESTERFIELD



Beaux & Belles
of England



Lord Chesterfield

Lord Chesterfield's Reception

From a painting by B. Wesley Rand

The Southern Railway



**Beaux & Belles
of England**



Lord Chesterfield

Volume I.

Written by

W . E r n s t

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PREFACE

It has long been a subject of regretful comment, that, of the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, no biography has been written since the compilation by his friend, Doctor Maty, published in 1778, of which "Memoirs" Horace Walpole says that "they are ill executed, and have several mistakes." I have therefore used them only so far as they can be relied upon.

The other materials for the "Life of Lord Chesterfield" are to be found in the memoirs and letters of his contemporaries, Lord Hervey, Horace Walpole, Lord Marchmont, and others; in the "Parliamentary History;" and, above all, in his own correspondence; for no man ever wrote with more perfect freedom and sincerity, especially to his son, and to some familiar friends; so that of Chesterfield it may be said with more truth than Pope said it of himself, that he loved "to pour out all himself as plain, as downright Shippen, or as old Montaigne."¹

But the letters which illustrate Lord Chesterfield's career at most important periods of his life,

¹ "Imitations of Horace," Satire I.

during his lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and when he came from his retirement to effect the junction between the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt, are now for the first time published from the voluminous and very interesting correspondence known as the "Newcastle Papers," in the British Museum, which were slightly adverted to by Lord Carnarvon in the memoir prefixed to his edition of "Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Godson."

To arrange all these materials in the form of a consecutive and faithful memoir of Lord Chesterfield's life has been my object in this work, and with this view I have allowed him as much as possible to speak for himself; and for adopting this course I have his own authority: "Letters from foreign ministers to their courts, and from their courts to them, are, if genuine, the best and most authentic records as far as they go." In Chesterfield's case they go very far indeed, and in the copious extracts I have given from his correspondence I have endeavoured to display the characteristics of "one of the wisest men who have ever lived,"¹ in his varied aspects of statesman, wit, orator, and philosopher.

In transcribing the letters, I have adhered strictly to Lord Chesterfield's orthography, though the same words are often spelled differently in the same letter.

I have drawn some additional illustrations from

¹ *Quarterly Review*, October, 1890.

Horace Walpole's marginal notes on Maty's "Memoirs."

The publication of "Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Godson," and the notices called forth by that work, served to dispel much of the cloud of misrepresentation and prejudice surrounding his fame. If in the following pages I have succeeded in placing in a still clearer light the great and good qualities of this very remarkable man, my labour of love is satisfied, my purpose is accomplished.

To my friend, Doctor Garnett, I am pleased to express my grateful thanks for many useful suggestions while I was engaged in copying the Letters at the British Museum.

And to Mr. Bickley and the assistants in the manuscript department my acknowledgments are also due for their uniform courtesy and kindness in assisting my inquiries.

W. E.




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LORD CHESTERFIELD

HE family of the Stanhopes is not only of great antiquity, but also of considerable distinction in English history. Camden, in his account of Nottinghamshire,¹ mentions "Shelford, praeclarae equestris stirpis Stanhoporum sedem, quorum splendor in hoc tractu est magnus et nomen celebre," to which his translator and editor adds, "of which family, and a great ornament to it, is the Right Honourable James Stanhope, principal secretary of state, to whose great abilities and unwearied application his country is indebted in a very eminent manner."²

Passing over their earlier lineage, we come to Philip Stanhope, who was first advanced to the dignity of a baron of the realm by the title of Lord Stanhope of Shelford, in 1616; and in 1628 was by Charles I. created Earl of Chesterfield, taking the title from the town of that name in Derbyshire.

¹ "Camdeni Britannia," p. 413; and edit. 1722, vol. i. col. 580.

² Afterward created Earl Stanhope. See *post*, p. 30.

He appears to have lived in rural retirement, until, at the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1645, he took arms in favour of Charles, when his house at Shelford became a garrison for the king, under the command of his son, Col. Philip Stanhope, until the insurgents took it by storm, and the colonel, with many of his soldiers, were therein slain, and the house afterward burnt.

Assisted, however, by a loyal retinue of gentlemen and followers, the earl seized Litchfield for the king, but after a severe contest was forced to surrender it to Sir John Gell, whose prisoner he became.

The earl, after long confinement, died during the Protectorate of Cromwell, in 1656. His son, Henry, married Catherine, daughter to Lord Wotton, and died in the lifetime of his father, in 1634, leaving one son, Philip, born in 1633, who became the second earl, memorable in the pages of Grammont and Pepys. But as the "handsome earl," as he has been called, is otherwise slightly known, the following particulars of his career, derived chiefly from his quaint and curious "Diary and Letters," may be acceptable.¹

Lord Chesterfield, at about the age of seven years, was taken to Holland by his mother, who had become the wife of M. de Hemfleet, ambassador from the Prince of Orange to Charles I.

¹ "Letters of Philip, Second Earl of Chesterfield," one vol., 8vo, 1829.

He was privately educated till about the age of fifteen, and "had never afterward any governor or tutor." After travelling through Germany, France, and Italy, he returned to England in 1649. In the following year, he married Lady Anne Percy, daughter of Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, who died in 1653. "She lived eight days after the being brought to bed of a son, who only survived his mother three weeks."

In 1654,¹ "the great affliction I was in for my wife's death, made mee leave England, taking only with mee a little footboy. I stay'd for six weeks in France at Marsels for a passage, to have gon with pilgrims to Jerusalem; but, finding none, I went in a gallie to Civita Vecchia, and so to Room. . . . At this time, there happened a very great plague there, five persons dying out of the house where I lodged; in which sad time I received news by letter from England, that a decree in chancerie being given against mee, my unkle Arthur had seised all my estate; and therefore, that I ought not any more to expect returns of mony; and that, if I came into England, I should infallibly be imprisoned for a debt of ten thousand pound, which my unkle (who at that time was well with the Protector Cromwell) pretended that I owed him. In this unfortunat condition, having in the world but five and twenty pound, I left Italy, and went by sea to Marsels in France; from

¹ "Diary, in Memoir, pp. 16-18.

whence, after having made a quarantina in the pest-house, I went to Lions; and from thence, sending my servant (for want of mony) afoot to Paris, I went with the messenger; but falling desperately sick by the way of a violent feavour, and having spent all the mony I had, I was left alone in a cottage and reduced to begg. But the merciful God did not long leave mee in that condition; for a Jesuit comming along that road, who I had formerly been acquainted with in Italy, releived mee, and paid for my journey with him to Paris."

At Paris, Lord Chesterfield was informed of his grandfather's decease, and returning at once to England, compromised the difference between his uncle and himself, and took possession of his hereditary estate.

The Protector offered him his daughter in marriage, with the option of a responsible command in the fleet or the army, which offer being declined, so offended Cromwell, that, Lord Chesterfield says, "it turned his kindness into hatred." And in the two following years, in consequence of a duel with a Captain Whaley, and of his attachment to the exiled royal family, he underwent three different imprisonments, and his estate was sequestered, but, "at last, with great charge and trouble, he got off." Soon afterward he had the misfortune to kill a Mr. Wollie in a duel, and fled to Holland, where he obtained the royal pardon from Charles II. Pepys mentions this incident:

"In our way to Kensington, we understood how that my Lord Chesterfield had killed another gentleman about half an hour before and was fled." ¹

The following is his letter :

"To the King, when he was at Brussels, 1659, on the Occation of Mr. Wollie's Death." ²

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE : — The great affliction I ley under by my late misfortune obliges mee with my duty to beg your Majesties pardon, hoping that when Gods great deputy shall have absolved mee here, I may with the more assurance expect an absolute forgiveness hereafter. Sir, I may safely affirme that I beg a forfeited life to noe other end, then to venter it on all occations in your Majesties service and quarrel ; and if in that just cause I should meet the reward of this offence, it will not greefe mee to see my blood look redder than my crime, and to dey as I have lived."

"From the King in his own Hand.

"BRUSSELLS, 2 Aprill, 1659.

"Yours of the 22 February came not to my hands till within these three or four days, and I

¹ "Diary," 17th January, 1659.

² "Letters," p. 105.

doe assure you, I have been very sorry for your misfortune, and am no less pleased to see the sence you have of it : you may be confident of all that you desire from mee, and that I have a just sence of the great affection and zeale, you have upon all occations expressed for the advancement of my service and interest. I hope the time is at hand that will put an end to our calamities, therefore pull up your spirits to wellcome that good time, and be assured I will be allwayes very kind to you as

“ Your most affectionat freind,

“ CHARLES R.”

On the Restoration in 1660, he returned with Charles II. to England, and waited “as sewer with the Earl of Dorset at the king’s coronation dinner in Westminster Hall.”

The same year he married Lady Elizabeth Butler, eldest daughter to the Duke of Ormond, whom Grammont thus describes :¹ “ C’étoit une des plus agréables femmes qu’on pût voir : elle avoit la plus jolie taille du monde, quoiqu’elle ne fût pas fort grande. Elle étoit blonde, et elle en avoit l’éclat & la blancheur, avec tout ce que les brunes ont de vif & de piquant. Elle avoit de grands yeux bleus ; & des regards extrêmement séduisans. Ses manières étoient engageantes, son

¹ “Memoires de Grammont,” edit. Walpole, p. 115.

esprit amusant & vif, mais son cœur, toujours ouvert aux tendres engagemens, n'étoit point scrupuleux sur la constance, ni délicat sur la sincérité."

From the following description of Lord Chesterfield at this time, and of the circumstances under which he contracted this second marriage, it is not surprising that the union was at first productive of but little happiness to either of the parties.

"Il avoit le visage fort agréable, la tête assez belle, peu de taille, & moins d'air. Il ne manquoit pas d'esprit. Un long séjour en Italie lui avoit communiqué la cérémonie dans le commerce des hommes, & la défiance dans celui des femmes. Il avoit été fort haï du roi parce qu'il avoit été fort aimé de la Castelmaine. Le bruit commun étoit qu'il avoit eu ses bonnes grâces, avant qu'elle fut mariée ; & comme ni l'un ni l'autre ne s'en défendoit, on le croïoit assez volontiers.

"Il avoit recherché la fille aînée du Duc d'Ormond, dans le tems qu'il avoit l'esprit encore rempli de sa première passion. Celle du roi pour la Castelmaine, et l'établissement qu'il espéroit par cette alliance, firent qu'il pressa ce mariage avec autant d'ardeur, que s'il eut été passionément amoureux. Il avoit donc épousé Madame de Chesterfield sans l'aimer, & vécu quelque tems avec elle d'un froideur à ne lui pas per-

mettre de douter de son indifférence. Elle étoit fine et délicate sur le mépris ; elle en fut affligée d'abord, indignée dans la suite, & dans le tems que son époux commençoit à lui faire voir qu'il l'aimoit, elle eut le plaisir de lui faire voir qu'elle ne l'aimoit plus." ¹

Two children were born of this marriage, — a son in 1660, who lived but three weeks, and a daughter within two years afterward, who became in 1691 the wife of Lord Glamis, son to the Earl of Strathmore.

On the arrival of the queen, Catherine of Braganza, in 1662, Lord Chesterfield, who had been appointed chamberlain to her Majesty, was sent by the king to receive her, and, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Bates, gives the following description of her : " Now as for the queen, you may credit her being a very extraordinary woman ; that is, extreamly devout, extreamly discreet, very fond of her husband, and the owner of a good understanding. As to her person, she is exactly shaped, and has lovely hands, excellent eyes, a good countenance, a pleasing voice, fine hair, and, in a word, is what an understanding man would wish a wife. Yet I fear all this will hardly make things run in

¹ "Memoires de Grammont," chap. viii. The rumour here alluded to, that Lord Chesterfield had enjoyed the favours of Lady Castlemaine before she became the mistress of the king, is confirmed by their correspondence, which leaves no doubt of the intimacy between them. — *Letters*, pp. 77, 86-92, 102, 112.

the right chanel ; but if it should, I suppose our court will require a new modelling, and then the profession of an honest man's friendship will signify more than it dos at present from your very humble servant." ¹

Toward the close of this year, an event occurred which first astonished and then amused the court, — the jealousy of Lord Chesterfield on account of a supposed or attempted intrigue with his countess by the Duke of York, the consequence of which was that the earl carried her off suddenly to Bretby, where they remained that winter and throughout the summer of the following year. The affair is related in full and amusing detail in the "*Memoires de Grammont* ;" ² and the trick played by Lady Chesterfield upon Hamilton, shortly after her seclusion at Bretby, seems to show that, if she had been imprudent, she had at all events not been guilty. Pepys tells "how the Duke of York is smitten in love with my Lady Chesterfield(a virtuous lady, daughter to my Lord of Ormond) ; and so much, that the Duchesse of

¹ "Letters," p. 122, and see "Evelyn's Diary," 30th May, 1662, and "Grammont," ch. vi., for an amusing description of the queen's suite.

² Chapitres viii., ix. "On regardoit avec étonnement en Angleterre un homme qui avoit la mal-honnêteté d'être jaloux de sa femme." "Dès qu'il eut le dos tourné pour le mettre en marche avec sa prisonniere, . . . toute la troupe des beaux esprits mirent au jour force vaudevilles, qui divertissoient le Public à ses dépens." — pp. 157, 159.

York hath complained to the king and her father about it, and my Lady Chesterfield is gone into the country for it.”¹ And again, “This day I was told the occasion of my Lord Chesterfield’s going and taking his lady from court. It seems he not only hath been long jealous of the Duke of York, but did find them two talking together, though there were others in the room, and the lady by all opinions a most good, virtuous woman. He the next day (of which the duke was warned by somebody that saw the passion my Lord Chesterfield was in the night before) went and told the duke how much he did apprehend himself wronged, in his picking out his lady of the whole court to be the subject of his dishonour; which the duke did answer with great calmnesse, not seeming to understand the reason of complaint, and that was all that passed; but my lord did presently pack his lady into the country in Derbyshire, near the Peake; which is become a proverb at court, to send a man’s wife to the Peake when she vexes him.”²

To dispel the rumours of these domestic squabbles, Lord Chesterfield wrote the following letter to his wife’s mother; and in accordance with it, he and Lady Chesterfield made a visit to the Duke of Ormond in Ireland, his Grace being then lord lieutenant there.

¹ “Diary,” Nov. 3, 1662.

² “Diary,” Jan. 19, 1663.

"To the Dutches of Ormond, Mother to my Wife.

"1663.

"MADAM:— After the having been so long in a'mist of misfortunes, and the being so misunderstood that I hardly hoped to refind the way to your Grace's favour, it was far from an unwelcomed light that I received by your ladyship's letter; whereby I see you are pleased to suspend a judgment, which, if once given, I should no longer plead but condemn myselfe. Madam, I doe not love the remembrance of old greefs, and yet the best way of curing wounds, is to search their bottoms, and when that has been once done before your ladyship and my lord, I shall freely forgive the uneasiness they have put mee to. Madam, my lord's invitation of us into Ireland, I hope will put a period to this and other discourses that have had much too large a circumferance, and intitle me by a justification to resume that kindness, with which your Grace was formerly pleas'd to honour,

"Madam,

"Yours, etc."¹

From this time Lord Chesterfield and his lady appear to have lived upon terms of sufficient cordiality until her death, which occurred in 1665 at

¹ "Letters," p. 125.

Wellingborough, when ("it being the great plague year) shee fell sick of the spotted feaver and died. Whereupon I returned to my own house at Bretby, where I also fell sick of the spotted feaver or plague."¹ He had this year resigned his post of chamberlain to the queen; a situation which seems to have involved him in some occasional disputes.² After a trip abroad in 1668, for the benefit of his health, he, in the following year, married his third wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon; and devoted his time to the building of his house at Bretby, and the arrangement of his gardens, occupations in which he seems to have had peculiar pleasure. With this lady, by whom he had four children, Philip, Charles, Mary, and Katherine, he lived in domestic retirement from the court for several years, until in 1678 he says: "She miscarried of a sonn, and died seaven days after, which was the greatest misfortune to mee that I had ever suffered."³

When the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York came to be debated in the House of Lords,

¹ "Diary," in "Memoir," p. 26.

² For instance, Pepys mentions "a late dispute between my Lord Chesterfield, that is the queen's lord chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu, her master of the horse, who should have the precedence in taking the queen's upper hand abroad out of the house, which Mr. Montagu challenges. It was given to my Lord Chesterfield." — *Diary*, 26th Jan., 1663.

³ "Memoir," p. 36.

in 1680, at which the king was present, Lord Chesterfield argued vehemently against it; and, in reward of his assistance in causing its rejection, his Majesty sent for him the next day, and appointed him a member of his Privy Council.

In the following year he was employed all the summer in the rebuilding of his "ruinous house" at Bretby, which, during his temporary absence, had been almost burnt to the ground in the popular frenzy caused by the illusion of the popish plot.¹

He was, however, called to London by the rumour of the famous Rye House plot, but took no active part either for or against those concerned in it.

He gives the following account of the illness of the king: "This unfortunat year, my master, King Charles the Second, faling desperatly ill of something like an apoplexie, the Privy Council ordered mee and two other privy counsellours to watch all night with his Majesty; who toward the morning, finding himself decline, commanded every body to leave the room, except his brother the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Bathe, and the Lord Feversham; which being done, it is more than probable that a Romish priest was introduced by a back door that opened by his bedside, and that his Majesty died a Roman Catholicke. But halfe an hower after that wee had been put out, wee were recaled into the roome againe; and then his Majesty

¹ "Letters," p. 208.

prayed hartily with a Protestant bishop (which in his sickness til that time hee had refused to doe); yet when the bishop desired him to receive the sacrament, he answered him, that hee hoped hee had already made his peace with Heaven, and refused it."¹

And in a letter to "the Earle of Arran," dated Feb. 7th, announcing the king's death on the previous day, he writes: "I will only say that, as to the manner of it (of which I was a witness, as having watched two whole nights with him and saw him expire) nothing could be greater; . . . I will only say, in short, that he died as a good Christian; as a man of great and undaunted courage in never repining at the loss of life, or for that of three kingdoms; as a good-natured man, in a thousand particulars; for when the queene sent to aske his pardon for anything that shee had ever done amisse, he answered that shee never had offended him, and therefore needed noe pardon, but that he had need of hers, and did hope that shee would not refuse it him. Hee exprest extraordinary great kindness to the duke his brother, and asked him often forgiveness for any hardship he had ever put upon him, assuring him of the tendernesse of his love, and that he willingly left him all he had; desiring him, for his sake, to be kind to his poor children, when he was gon. Lastly, he asked his subjects pardon for any

¹ "Diary," in "Memoir," p. 45.

thing that had been neglected, or acted conterary to the best rules of a good government, and told those about his bed, how sorry he was for giving them so much trouble by his being so long a dying ; desiring often death to make more haist to free him from his pain, and the bystanders from their attendance." ¹

Although Lord Chesterfield had thought it right on principle to oppose the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, yet he could hardly be expected to have any personal liking for him ; and accordingly we find that, soon after the accession of James II., he resigned his appointments of chief justice in eyre of the woods and forests south of Trent, and his colonelcy of the guards, given him by Charles, and again for some time lived in retirement at his favourite Bretby.

Consistent, however, in his attachment to the house of Stuart, he rendered such assistance as lay in his power to the Princess Anne, when she fled from London to Nottingham, on the landing of the Prince of Orange ; and although he some time afterward made his compliment to the prince in London, he refused to be at his coronation, and declined several offers made to him of employment by King William. ²

¹ "Letters," p. 277.

² He was offered in succession the posts of gentleman of the bedchamber, lord privy seal, and plenipotentiary to the Hague. — *Diary*, in *Memoir*, p. 47 ; *Letters*, pp. 342, 355, 357.

From this time Lord Chesterfield withdrew entirely from the court, and though he made occasional visits to town, to attend to his duties at the House of Lords, his continually increasing infirmities induced him to confine himself more and more to the charms of Bretby, and the cultivation of his gardens. In 1705, for instance, he says: "I mayd many waterworks in my garden, etc., and had two fits of the goute. I invited the French generall, Monsieur de Tallard, who was kept prisoner at Nottingham, to come to Bretby, where he seamed to be extreamly pleasd with the gardens and his entertainment, and sayd, in a compliment, that, setting the King of France's gardens aside, there was not finer gardens in France."

It was probably due to the earl's taste in this respect, that he was, in 1697, honoured by Dryden's dedication to him of his translation of Virgil's "Georgics," which Lord Chesterfield rewarded by what Dryden acknowledged as a "noble present."¹

Lord Chesterfield had now reached his seventy-ninth year, 1712, when he quitted Bretby for London, and yielding gradually to the encroachments of his age and infirmities, he died on January 28, 1713, in his eightieth year.

Of his eldest son little more seems to be known, or need here be told, than that he became

¹ "Dryden's Prose Works," edit. Malone, iii. p. 405; Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," edit. Cunningham, i. p. 394.

third Earl of Chesterfield; and that he was a man of morose disposition and violent passions, "who often thought that people behaved ill to him, when they did not in the least intend it." He had married, in 1691, Lady Betty Savil, daughter to the Marquess of Halifax, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. She did not live long enough to take care of their education.

The marquess appears to have possessed the same kind of wit as his famous grandson. At the beginning of the revolution, several persons of rank, who had been very zealous and serviceable in bringing about that event, but, at the same time, had no great abilities, applied for some of the most considerable employments in the government. The marquess being consulted upon this, said: "I remember to have read in history that Rome was saved by geese, but I do not remember that those geese were made consuls."¹

¹ Maty's "Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield," p. 269.

Lord Hervey, in his "Memoirs of George the Second," i. p. 97, says: "Part of the character which Bishop Burnet gives of his grandfather, the Marquis of Halifax, seems to be a prophetic description of Lord Chesterfield,—at least he has an hereditary title to it." "The liveliness of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatsoever. And he was endless in consultations; for when after much discourse a point was settled, if he could find a new jest, to make even that which was suggested by himself seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, though it made others call his judgment in question." — *Burnet's History of his Own Time*, i. pp. 465-66, edit. 1823.

The eldest son of the above marriage, Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, celebrated equally as a statesman and a wit, as a courtier and a man of letters, as a diplomatist and an orator, as well as distinguished in an age of politeness by the refinement of his manners, was born in London on the 22d of September, 1694. The neglect with which he was treated by his father, who, he says, was "neither desirous nor able to advise him,"¹ and who appears to have conceived even an aversion for him, was amply compensated by the care which was taken of him by his grandmother, the Marchioness of Halifax, whose understanding and wit were still exceeded by the goodness of her heart. His early education was conducted at home; and while he received his first instruction in history and languages from Mr. Jouneau, the formation of his taste and manners may well be ascribed to the influence of this accomplished woman.

But he does not appear ever to have wanted the spur of emulation, which is supposed to be the special privilege of a public school to apply. "When I was at your age (eleven) I should have been ashamed if any boy of that age had learned his book better, or played at any play better than I did; and I would not have rested a moment till I had got before him."²

¹ Letter to his son, Nov. 24, 1747.

² To his son, June 28, 1742.

He was very young, when Lord Galway, a man of uncommon penetration and merit, observing in him a strong inclination for a political life, but, at the same time, an unconquerable taste for pleasure, with some tincture of laziness, gave him the following advice: "If you intend to be a man of business, you must be an early riser. In the distinguished posts your parts, rank, and fortune will entitle you to fill, you will be liable to have visitors at every hour of the day, and unless you rise constantly at an early hour, you will never have any leisure to yourself."¹

To this admonition, which had its due effect, he probably refers, in a letter, written many years afterward: "If, by chance, your business, or your pleasures, should keep you up till four or five o'clock in the morning, I would advise you, however, to rise exactly at your usual time, that you may not lose the precious morning hours; and that the want of sleep may force you to go to bed earlier the next night. This is what I was advised to do when very young, by a very wise man; and what, I assure you, I always did in the most dissipated part of my life. I have very often gone to bed at six in the morning, and rose notwithstanding at eight; by which means I got many hours in the morning that my companions lost; and this want of sleep obliged me to keep good hours the next, or at least the

¹ Maty, p. 8.

third night. To this method I owe the greatest part of my reading; for from twenty to forty, I should certainly have read very little, if I had not been up while my companions were in bed.”¹

At the age of eighteen, young Stanhope was sent to complete his studies at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he says: “Je continue bien ferme dans mes études, qui ne sont encore que le Latin et le Grec,” and humourously adds: “mais pour l’anatomie, je ne la pourrai point apprendre; car quoiqu’il y ait un pauvre pendu, le chirurgien, qui avoit coutume de faire ces opérations, n’en a point voulu faire cette fois, parceque c’étoit un homme, et alors il dit que les écoliers ne veulent point venir.”² And again: “C’est à cette heure, que j’ai bien des affaires sur les bras, car j’employe plus d’une heure par jour au droit civil, et tout autant à la philosophie; et la semaine qui vient, l’aveugle³ commencera ses leçons de mathématiques; de sorte que me voici bien occupé. Croiriez-vous bien aussi que je lis Lucien et Xenophon en Grec? ce qui m’est rendu assez aisé, car je ne m’embarrasse point d’apprendre toutes les règles de la grammaire; mais l’homme⁴

¹ To his son, 26th December, 1749.

² À M. Jouneau, 22 Août, 1712.

³ Professor Saunderson, the blind teacher of mathematics.

⁴ The Rev. Mr. Crowe, his private tutor, afterward one of the chaplains to George II.

qui est avec moi, et qui est une grammaire vivante, me les enseigne en lisant.”¹

And of the pleasure he has in reading M. Jouneau's letters to him, he says: “*Decies repetita placebit*, — ce qui est la devise qu'un ministre ici (qui épousa l'autre jour une très jolie fille) mit dans la bague de noce.”

Doctor Maty was assured by Bishop Chenevix that Lord Chesterfield, when at Cambridge, used to study in his apartment, without stirring from it, till six o'clock in the evening;² and according to his own account many years afterward: “At nineteen, I left the University of Cambridge, where I was an absolute pedant: when I talked my best, I quoted Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common sense; that the classics contained everything that was either necessary, useful, or ornamental to men; and I was not without thoughts of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, instead of the vulgar and illiberal dress of the moderns.”³

We shall see that in his latter days he expressed somewhat different opinions of the respective merits of the ancient and modern writers.

On leaving college, he went abroad with the

¹ À M. Jouneau, 12 Octobre, 1712.

² Maty, p. 271.

³ To his son, June 24, 1751.

view of making what was then called the grand tour; and went first to the Hague, from whence he writes: "Le séjour que j'ai fait ici m'a été fort agréable, car cet endroit est tout-à-fait charmant dans l'été, et la compagnie y est fort bonne à cause du grand nombre d'étrangers qui y demeurent; car, pour les gens du pays, il est certain qu'ils ne sont pas du commerce le plus raffiné: ce sont d'assez bonnes gens, mais qui ne se mêlent pas de la conversation."¹

At this place, where gaming was much in fashion, he unfortunately acquired the habit of a vice which, as will be seen from time to time, in his letters, no one more regretted than himself. From The Hague, it was his intention to have gone to Turin, thence to Venice, thence to Rome, etc.; but the events which followed on the death of Queen Anne caused this plan to be laid aside.² His remarks upon those events in his last letter at this time from Paris are too remarkable not to be here given: "Il y avoit trop peu de temps que j'étois sorti de l'Angleterre, pour souhaiter d'y retourner à quelque prix que ce fût; autrement j'aurois bien voulu y avoir été à l'arrivée du roi, pour prendre part à la joie qu'on en devoit avoir. Si je n'avois point d'autre raison, la seule tristesse que témoignent les François et les Anglois de la suite du Prétendant, sur la mort de la reine,

¹ À M. Jouneau, 10 Août, 1714.

² "Letters," iii. p. 9.

seroit capable de m'en consoler. Mais quand je vois combien loin les choses étoient déjà avancées en faveur du Prétendant et du papisme, et que nous étions à deux doigts de l'esclavage, je compte absolument pour le plus grand bonheur qui soit jamais arrivé à l'Angleterre, la mort de cette femme, qui, si elle eût vécu encore trois mois, alloit sans doute établir sa religion, et par conséquent la tyrannie, et nous auroit laissé, après sa mort, pour roi, un bâtard, tout aussi sot qu'elle, et qui, comme elle, auroit été mené par le nez par une bande de scélérats. La Déclaration du Prétendant, et mille autres choses, sont des preuves convaincantes du dessein qu'avaient ces conjurés du ministère, de le faire entrer."¹

This is strong language, but Lord Chesterfield, though always loyal to the throne, loved liberty better than kings or rulers, for whom generally he had little personal liking; but his favourite aversion was the papacy, and he never fails—as we shall see from time to time—to express his strong dislike to, and dread of Roman Catholic domination.

In the continuation of the above letter, the satirical account he gives of himself shows that he had somewhat shaken off his scholastic habits: "Je ne vous dirai pas mes sentimens des François parceque je suis fort souvent pris pour un, et plus d'un François m'a fait le plus grand compliment

¹ A M. Jouneau, Dec. 7, 1714.

qu'ils croient pouvoir faire à personne, qui est, 'Monsieur, vous êtes tout comme nous.' Je vous dirai seulement que je suis insolent ; que je parle beaucoup, bien haut, et d'un ton de maître ; que je chante et que je danse en marchant ; et enfin, que je fais une dépense furieuse en poudre, plumets, gands blancs, etc." ¹

But however much he had lent himself, at this time, to the pleasures and dissipation of good company, he always found time for serious studies ; and when he could find it no other way, he took it out of his sleep. And there can be no doubt that, in his reading, he acted upon the same advice for himself that he afterward gave to his son respecting the choice of books : "Throw away none of your time upon those trivial futile books, published by idle or necessitous authors, for the amusement of idle and ignorant readers : such sort of books swarm and buzz about one every day ; flap them away, they have no sting. *Certum pete finem*, have some one object for those leisure moments, and pursue that object invariably till you have attained it." ² With Chesterfield, that main object was oratory : "So long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they were my chief study), whether ancient or modern, I used to write down the shining passages, and then translate

¹ A M. Jouneau, *ut supra*.

² To his son, May 31, 1752.

them, as well and as elegantly as ever I could; if Latin or French, into English; if English, into French. This, which I practised for some years, not only improved and formed my style, but imprinted in my mind and memory the best thoughts of the best authors. The trouble was little, but the advantage I have experienced was great."¹ "Whether from such studies," says Lord Mahon, "or from natural genius, Chesterfield's speeches became more highly admired and extolled than any others of the day. Horace Walpole had heard his own father; had heard Pitt; had heard Pulteney; had heard Wyndham; had heard Carteret; yet he declares that the finest speech he ever listened to was one from Chesterfield."

On his return to England he was presented to the king, and appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales; a post, at that time, equally suitable to his age and inclinations. It was while in this position that he formed a lasting friendship with Lord Lumley, then master of the horse to the prince, and afterward so well known, so highly esteemed, and at last so deeply regretted, as Lord Scarborough.

But, to use his own words, "without making a figure in Parliament, no man can make any in this country," and he therefore entered the House of Commons as Lord Stanhope of Shelford, having

¹ To his son, Feb. 12, 1754.

² To Sir Horace Mann, Dec. 15, 1743.

been returned for the borough of St. Germain, Cornwall; and being resolved to lose no time in trying the efficacy of the training to which he had subjected himself with the view to oratory, he delivered his first speech August 5, 1715, a few weeks before he attained the legal age of twenty-one. "I spoke in Parliament the first month I was in it, and a month before I was of age; and from the day I was elected till the day that I spoke, I am sure I thought nor dreamed of nothing but speaking. The first time, to say the truth, I spoke very indifferently as to the matter; but it passed tolerably, in favour of the spirit with which I uttered it, and the words in which I dressed it. . . . The House, it must be owned, is always extremely indulgent to the two or three first attempts of a young speaker, and if they find any degree of common sense in what he says, they make great allowances for his inexperience, and for the concern which they suppose him to be under. I experienced that indulgence, for, had I not been a young member, I should certainly have been, as I own I deserved, reprimanded by the House for some strong and indiscreet things that I said."¹

The speech he thus alludes to was in the debate on the articles of impeachment against the Duke of Ormond, on the 5th August, and Lord Stanhope inveighed with great bitterness against the

¹ Letter to his son, March 15, 1754.

promoters of the peace of Utrecht, saying that he "never wished to spill the blood of any of his countrymen, much less the blood of any nobleman; but that he was persuaded that the safety of his country required that examples should be made of those who had betrayed it in so infamous a manner."¹

But although Lord Stanhope escaped censure, he was privately admonished by one of the opposite party, who told him that he was acquainted with the date of his birth, and that he was not yet of age; that, however, he would take no advantage of this unless his friends were pushed; but that if he offered to vote, he would immediately inform the House. Lord Stanhope, who knew the consequences of this discovery,² said nothing, but quitted the House, and returned to Paris, glad, perhaps, of the opportunity of finishing his novitiate in that gay city.³

How he finished it, and how he became *dé-*

¹ "Parl. Hist.," p. 128.

When in Holland, the previous year, Lord Stanhope had been the guest of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, who had, from prudential motives, fixed their residence at Antwerp, and it has been suggested that Lord Stanhope's sudden zeal against the Treaty of Utrecht may be in some degree attributed to this visit to Antwerp, and the flattering attentions he received from the greatest man, and one of the cleverest women of the age.—*Letter to George Berkeley, Suffolk Letters*, vol. i. p. 5, and note.

² The annulling of his election, and a fine of £500.

³ Maty, p. 22.

sœuvré, with the assistance of a fine woman, who took him under her charge, is amusingly described in a letter to his son many years afterward, from which the following extract in this place will suffice: "She called up three or four people to her and said, 'Sçavez-vous que j'ai entrepris ce jeune homme, et qu'il le faut rassurer? Pour moi, je crois en avoir fait la conquête, car il s'est émancipé dans le moment au point de me dire, en tremblant, qu'il faisoit chaud. Il faut que vous m'aidiez à le dérouiller. Il lui faut nécessairement une passion, et s'il ne m'en juge pas digne, nous lui en chercherons quelque autre. Au rest, mon novice, n'allez pas vous encanailler avec des filles d'opéra et des comédiennes qui vous épargneront les fraix et du sentiments et de la politesse, mais qui vous en couteront bien plus à tout autre égard. Je vous le dis encore; si vous encanaillez, vous êtes perdu, mon ami. Ces malheureuses ruineront et votre fortune et votre santé, corrompront vos mœurs, et vous n'aurez jamais le ton de la bonne compagnie.' " " Chesterfield goes on to say that the company laughed at this lecture, and that he was stunned with it, as indeed well he might be, not knowing whether the dame was serious or in jest.

To return. The rebellion was at this time breaking out, and it is not improbable that Lord Stanhope had other views than mere pleasure in making this trip to Paris, and that he may have

¹ To his son, Jan. 11, 1750.

been of service in discovering the intrigues of the Jacobites in correspondence with the rebels in England and Scotland, who had taken up arms in favour of the Pretender.¹

However this may have been, he soon afterward returned to England, and the apprehension caused by the rebellion — though it had now been quelled — having induced the ministry to bring in a bill to make the present and future Parliaments septennial, he spoke in favour of the measure, which, after a strong debate, was carried in both houses.²

For the next few years there is little to tell of Lord Stanhope's doings; there is a long gap in his published correspondence, and in Parliament, so far as the debates show, he seems to have been almost a *persona muta*. For although Maty says that he continued to speak from time to time, he also mentions that his progress was checked by the ridiculous conduct of a member in mimicking his tone and action, in which unequal conflict Lord Stanhope always felt himself hurt.³

¹ Maty, p. 23.

² The bill was passed in April. — 7 *Parl. Hist.*, 308, *et seq.* Lord Stanhope's name does not appear in the report.

³ He perhaps alludes to this where he says: "Mimickry, which is the common and favourite amusement of little, low minds, is in the utmost contempt with great ones. It is the lowest and most illiberal of all buffoonery. Pray neither practise it yourself nor applaud it in others. Besides that, the person mimicked is insulted; and an insult is never forgiven." — *To his son*, October 19, 1748.

His prospects of employment, also, to which he was entitled from the abilities he had displayed, were for a time marred by the quarrel which had broken out between the king and his son. The consequence to Lord Stanhope was that, being attached to the prince's court, he could expect no favour from the other, where the influence of his relative, Earl Stanhope,¹ might otherwise have aided his promotion. The value set upon his abilities, however, appears from the efforts made by the court to reclaim him. The title of duke was offered to his father, but Lord Stanhope was not to be thus tempted from his attachment to the prince. Besides that, he thought that the younger sons of a duke ought to have larger fortunes than his brothers or his children were likely to have. The earl, though shy of the court, was less indifferent to its favours, and was displeased at his son's refusal. But though Lord Stanhope thus adhered to the prince, he continued to hold such relations to the king as not to oppose measures which he thought necessary. He accordingly supported a motion for augmenting the army by an addition of four thousand men, and for this mark of fidelity was rewarded by being appointed captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners.

Lord Townshend, to whom he succeeded in this

¹ James Stanhope, grandson of the first Earl of Chesterfield, created Earl Stanhope in 1718. He died in 1721. See *ante*, p. 1.





post, advised him to make it more profitable than he himself had done, by disposing of the places. "I rather, for this time," answered Lord Stanhope, "wish to follow your lordship's example than your advice."¹

In the summer of 1725, in consequence of his father's illness, Lord Stanhope made a visit to his family seat in Derbyshire; and the letters written by him from that place show that he had by no means inherited his ancestor's fondness for it, but, on the contrary, contain only humourous complaints of being there. Writing to Mrs. Howard² on the 30th of June, he says: "The inhabitants

¹ Maty, p. 31. Charles, second Viscount Townshend, born 1676, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1717, and in 1728 secretary of state. In his character of Lord Townshend, Chesterfield says: "Never minister had cleaner hands than he had. Mere domestic economy was his only care as to money, for he did not add one acre to his estate, and left his younger children very moderately provided for, though he had been in considerable and lucrative employments near thirty years."

² Henrietta Hobart, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, was born about 1688, and died in 1767. She married, about 1708, the Hon. Charles Howard, third son of the fifth Earl of Suffolk, who in 1731 became, by the death of his nephews and two elder brothers, ninth Earl of Suffolk. Some time after their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Howard repaired to the court of Hanover, and, on the accession of George I., Mr. Howard was named groom of the bedchamber to the king, and Mrs. Howard was appointed one of the bedchamber women to the new Princess of Wales; and on her husband succeeding to the earldom of Suffolk, she became mistress of the robes to the queen. After the death of her husband in 1733, she resigned her office in 1734, and formally retired from court; and in 1735 she married the Hon.

here are as utter strangers to the sun as they are to shoes and stockings; and were it, by some strange revolution in nature, once to shine upon them, the unusual light would certainly blind them, in case the heat did not suddenly kill them. It is called the Peak, and you have heard that the devil is reported to have some possessions in it, which I certainly believe. For, had I been a papist (as, thank God, I am not), I should have thought myself in purgatory; but being a good Protestant, I was obliged most orthodoxly to conclude myself to be in hell. But reflecting, since, how little good company I meet with here, and how much I might expect to find there, together with the consideration of my excessive poverty, I begin to believe I am in Scotland, where, like the

George Berkeley, youngest son of the second Earl of Berkeley. He died in 1746. — *Preface to Suffolk Letters*.

"Lady Suffolk was of a just height, well made, extremely fair, with the finest light brown hair; was remarkably genteel, and always well dressed, with taste and simplicity. Those were her personal charms, for her face was regular and agreeable rather than beautiful; and those charms she retained, with little diminution, to her death, at the age of seventy-nine." — *Walpole's Reminiscences*, ch. vii.

Mrs. Howard was called by her intimates the Swiss, and her apartments in the palace the Swiss Cantons, probably in allusion to the political neutrality which she wisely maintained at court. The charming and lively Mary Bellenden, having left the court on her marriage to Col. John Campbell, afterward Duke of Argyll, writing a year afterward to Mrs. Howard, 1721, wishes herself "in the Swiss Cantons again." — *Suffolk Letters*, i. p. 82.

rest of that nation, I only stay till I am master of half a crown to get out of it."

After describing some of his domestic amusements, he, by way of raillery of his passion for gaming, says: "I have won three half-crowns of the curate at a horse-race, and six shillings of Gaffer Foxeley at a cock-match. But whether this success may not one day or other prove to my cost by drawing me into gaming, I cannot answer."¹

In his next letter to the same lady, dated from Bretby, October 23d, after begging her to make his excuses to the Prince of Wales for not paying his duty to him on his birthday, on account of the "almost indispensable necessity" that hindered him from coming to town, he says: "Ever since my father had his fits he has continued entirely senseless, in which condition it is impossible for me, upon many accounts besides filial piety, to leave him. How long he will continue so, I cannot tell; but this I am sure of, that if it be much longer I shall be the maddest of the two: this place being the seat of horror and despair, where no creatures but ravens, screech-owls, and birds of ill-omen seem willingly to dwell; for as for the very few human faces that I behold, they look, like myself, rather condemned than inclined to stay here. Were I given to romances, I should think myself detained by enchantments in the castle of

¹ "Suffolk Letters," i. p. 184.

some inexorable magician, which I am sure Don Quixote often did upon much slighter grounds; or were I inclined to a religious melancholy, I should fancy myself in hell: but not having the happiness of being yet quite out of my senses, I fancy — what is worse than either — that I am just where I am, in the old mansion-seat of the family, and that, too, not my own.”¹

And in his next and last letter from Bretby, to the same lady, dated November 13th: “I am glad to find you do justice to my filial piety. I own I think it surpasses that of Æneas; for when he took such care of his father he was turned of four-score, and not likely to trouble him long: but you may observe that he prudently disposed of his wife, who, being much younger, was consequently more likely to stick by him; which makes me shrewdly suspect that had his father been of the same age² as mine, he would not have been quite so well looked after. I hope, like him, I shall be at last rewarded with a Lavinia, or at least a Dido, which possibly may be full as well.

“I am afraid you are too much in the right when you tell me I am in purgatory; for souls always stay there till they go to heaven, which I doubt will be my case; whereas I should be very

¹ “Suffolk Letters,” i. p. 196.

² Lord Chesterfield, though in a deplorable state of health, was not above fifty.

glad of baiting a considerable time at London in my way to it.”¹

I may be excused for giving the foregoing extracts, on account of their wit and gaiety, and as they are the only letters in Chesterfield's correspondence dated from his family seat.² His father died about two months after the date of this letter.

Although the levity and apparent want of filial feeling implied in the two preceding letters have been remarked upon and condemned, — and it must be admitted that the concluding part of the last letter is not in a tone of “filial piety,” — yet in spite of the “austere and unamiable” character of the third earl, and his neglect of, and even dislike to, his son, Lord Stanhope had lived on good terms with his father, and was affectionate in his attentions to him in his last illness.³ But love begets love, and Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, frequently disclaims the existence of natural affection, contending that it can be founded only upon mutual regard and esteem.

In this year Sir Robert Walpole, to increase his patronage, revived the Order of the Bath; but

¹ “Suffolk Letters,” i. p. 198.

² In Lord Carnarvon's second edition of “Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Godson,” is a view of Bretby Hall, the destruction of which by that godson, “in all its quaint and formal picturesqueness, is the cause of a never ending regret.” — *Memoir*, p. lxxviii.

³ “Suffolk Letters,” i. p. 197.

Lord Stanhope declined the honour which was offered him, of the red ribband ; nor was he well pleased with his brother, Sir William Stanhope, for accepting it.¹ And on the occasion of Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar, one of the new knights, having lost the ensign of the order, he gave vent to his satirical humour in a ballad, of which the following stanzas may serve as a specimen :

“ Hear, all you friends to knighthood,
A tale will raise your wonder,
How caitiff vile
By basest wile
An hardy knight did plunder.

“ Oh ! had you seen our hero !
No knight could e’er look bigger,
Unless his size
My song belies,
Than Morgan of Tredegar.

“ A ribbon graced his shoulder,
A star shone on his breast, sir,
With smart toupee,
Fort bien poudrè,
And cockade on his crest, sir.

“ This ribbon held a bauble,
Which his kind stars decreed him,

¹ “ Sir William, going afterward into opposition, affected to lay aside his ribband, as despising it, but hearing the other knights would resent that contempt, reassumed it.” — *Walpole’s MS. Notes on Maty.*

With which he'd play
Both night and day —
'Twould do you good to see him.

"Tho' I a bauble call it,
It must not thus be slighted;
'Twas one of the toys
Bob¹ gave his boys
When first the chits were knighted.

.
"Learn hence, ye courtly lordlings,
Who hear this fatal story,
On how slight strings
Depend those things
Whereon ye hang your glory."

It is probable that this piece of pleasantry was the cause of his difference with Sir Robert Walpole, which led to his either resigning, or being dismissed from his post of captain of the gentlemen pensioners, which, among other changes that were made at court, took place about the time that the king set out for Hanover, in the summer of 1725.²

Lord Stanhope was now relieved from his attendance in the House of Commons, and the annoyance he had suffered from the mimicking member already mentioned, by the death of his father, on the 27th January, 1726, which removed

¹ Sir Robert Walpole.

² "Maty's Memoir's," p. 31.

him to the Upper House, where during the remainder of this reign he continued to speak occasionally, on the side of the opposition.

A complaint of a message for an additional number of seamen, being sent to the Commons only, occasioned a debate which gave Lord Chesterfield the opportunity of vindicating the privileges of the House.¹

And in the following year, in a debate on a bill "for continuing the duties on malt," respecting the clause, "That out of the supplies granted this session, there may be issued such sums of money as shall be necessary for defraying such expenses and engagements as have at any time been, or till Christmas next may be made by his Majesty in concerting such measures as he thinks proper for the security and interest of these kingdoms and restoring the peace of Europe," he joined in the opposition to the clause, but not in the protest.²

On the 3d June, the king set out on his usual journey to Hanover, but, being seized with a paralytic disorder on the road, expired on the 11th at Osnabruck, in the very same room where he was born;³ and on the 27th of that month, Lord Chesterfield had the satisfaction of moving the address of condolence, congratulation, and

¹ Maty, p. 32; 8 "Parl. Hist.," 518, where, however, Lord Chesterfield's name does not appear in the debate.

² Maty, p. 32; 8 "Parl. Hist.," 565.

³ Smollett, ii. 459; Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i. p. 30.

thanks in answer to the speech of King George II. on his accession to the throne.¹

Lord Chesterfield's character of George I., though written many years afterward, is too characteristic of the writer not to find a place here.

"George the First was an honest, dull, German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a king, which is to shine and to oppress. Lazy and inactive even in his pleasures, which were therefore lowly sensual. He was coolly intrepid and indolently benevolent. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favourite, hours the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, with whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot.

"Importunity alone could make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views and affections were singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate; England was too big for him. If he had nothing great as a king, he had nothing bad as a man; and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain, the annals of this country. In private life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbour. Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater kings in it!"

¹ 8 "Parl. Hist.," 570-572.

Those who judge of courts only by appearances might well expect that Lord Chesterfield's adherence to the prince would, on his coming to the crown, have opened the door to preferment; but all who have experienced the favour of princes and ministers know by how precarious a tenure it is held.

Three causes may have operated against his promotion: his want of obsequiousness, which made him at all times an uncertain colleague; his love of gambling, which the king hated; and Walpole's jealous dislike of him. The result, however, was that, on the distribution of places at the beginning of this reign, Lord Chesterfield retained only his post of lord of the bedchamber, and was not even restored to the place of captain of the gentlemen pensioners. And when the king told Sir Robert Walpole that he would have something done for Chesterfield, the minister, glad of the opportunity of preventing a declared enemy from ingratiating himself further with the king, proposed sending him as ambassador to Holland. "Lord Chesterfield, afraid to act against Sir Robert, and ashamed to act under him, gave in to this proposal."¹

He accordingly set out for Holland on the 23d April, and arrived at The Hague on the 5th May.

But whatever may have been the motive for sending Lord Chesterfield on this embassy, the

¹ Maty, p. 46; Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i. p. 97.

post was one peculiarly adapted to his genius and disposition. Possessing a quick insight into the temper of others, and constant command of his own, familiar with foreign languages and history, diplomacy was his forte; and in the difficult and delicate negotiations with which he was entrusted during his three years' residence at The Hague, he displayed consummate ability and gained universal reputation. His first care was to surround himself with competent advisers and assistants, but as he always endeavoured to combine business with pleasure, while at the same time making his pleasures and amusements subservient to, and assisting his business,¹ he distinguished himself alike by his zealous devotion to the duties of his office, the splendid hospitality of his entertainments, and possibly, also, by some judicious losses at play.²

He appointed his brother, John Stanhope, sec-

¹ "A foreign minister, I will maintain it, can never be a good man of business if he is not an agreeable man of pleasure, too. Half his business is done by the help of his pleasures; his views are carried on, and perhaps best, and most unsuspectedly, at balls, suppers, assemblies, and parties of pleasure; by intrigues with women, and connections insensibly formed with men, at those unguarded hours of amusement."—*Letter to his son, Sept. 26, 1752.*

² Walpole says "he courted the good opinion of that economical people by losing immense sums at play."—*Memoirs of George II.*, i. p. 45. *But Horace Walpole, when speaking of Chesterfield, except where he tells a merely witty anecdote, is not always to be trusted.

retary of embassy ; Mr., afterward Colonel, Rutter, his equerry ; and on the recommendation of his friend Lord Scarborough, Mr. Chenevix as his chaplain, who subsequently became Bishop of Waterford, and for whom, throughout his life, he continued to feel the sincerest regard. He also procured the services of some learned professors to improve his knowledge of the civil law and the constitution of the republic.

With Mr. Slingelandt, the pensionary, or prime minister, and with Mr. Fagel, the greffier, but especially with the former, Lord Chesterfield contracted an unusual degree of intimacy. Of the former, he says, in a note to his account of the government of the United Provinces : "Monsieur Slingelandt, the ablest minister, and the honestest man I ever knew. I may justly call him my friend, my master, and my guide ; for I was then quite new in business : he instructed me, he loved me, he trusted me."¹ And of the latter, "who had been greffier, that is secretary of state, above fifty years. He had the deepest knowledge of business, and the soundest judgment of any man I ever knew in my life ; but he had not that quick, that intuitive sagacity which the Pensionary Slingelandt had."

The ambassador also found a most useful and

¹ I think Maty is justified in saying : "The man who, having had such obligations to another, scruples not to own them, must himself be very great." — *Memoirs*, p. 53.

able assistant in James Dayrolles, the king's old and experienced resident at The Hague.¹

Lord Chesterfield's reception on his arrival, and his occupations at the beginning of his embassy, will be best told in his own words. Writing to Mrs. Howard on the 18th May, he says: "I could yet give you but a very indifferent account of myself hitherto, the little time I have passed here having been wholly employed in ceremonies as disagreeable to receive as to relate; the only satisfaction that I have yet had has been to find, that the people here, being convinced that I am determined to please them as much as I am able, are equally resolved in return to please me as much as possible, and I cannot express the civilities I have met with from all sorts of people. . . . My great comfort is, that I have all the reason in the world to believe that my stay here will be highly beneficial both to my body and my soul; here being few temptations, and still fewer opportunities to sin,² as you will find by the short but true account I will give you of myself.

¹ "This Dayrolles, the father, had been secretary to another Mr. Stanhope, minister at The Hague, who was supposed to have an inclination for Madame Dayrolles. A grave person at The Hague told him he gave great scandal. 'Why,' said Stanhope, 'what do I do?' 'Why, they say you lie with another man's wife.' 'No,' said he, 'I don't; I lie with my own man's.'" — *Walpole's MS. Notes on Maty*.

² He must, however, have found both temptation and opportunity, as it was probably during his residence here that he met

"My morning is entirely taken up in doing the king's business very ill, and my own still worse; this lasts till I sit down to dinner with fourteen or fifteen people, where the conversation is cheerful enough, being animated by the *patronazza*, and other loyal healths. The evening, which begins at five o'clock, is wholly sacred to pleasures; as, for instance, the Forault¹ till six; then either a very bad French play, or a reprise at quadrille with three ladies, the youngest upward of fifty, at which, with a very ill run, one may lose, besides one's time, three florins; this lasts till ten o'clock, at which time I come home, reflecting with satisfaction on the innocent amusements of a well spent day that leave no sting behind them, and go to bed at eleven, with the testimony of a good conscience. In this serenity of mind I pity you who are forced to endure the tumultuous pleasures of London. I considered you particularly last Tuesday, suffering the heat and disorders of the masquerade,² supported by the Duchess of Rich-

with the "beautiful young lady," Mrs. Du Bouchet, by whom he had the son, born in 1732, to whom the famous letters were written.

¹ "The Vor-hout is, at the same time, the Hyde Park and the Mall of the people of quality; for they take the air in it both on foot and in coaches. There are shops for wafers, cool liquors, etc." — *Lady M. W. Montagu, Letters*, i. p. 227.

² At the Haymarket Theatre, under Heidegger, noted for his masquerades and his ugliness. See "The Dunciad," Book I., and notes thereto.

mond¹ of one side and Miss Fitzwilliam² of the other, all three weary and wanting to be gone; upon which I own I pitied you so much that I wished myself there, only to help you out of the crowd.

“After all this, to speak seriously, I am very far from disliking this place; I have business enough one part of the day to make me relish the amusements of the other part, and even to make them seem pleasures; and if anything can comfort one for the absence of those one loves or esteems, it is meeting with the good will of those one is obliged to be with, which very fortunately, though undeservedly, is my case.”³

It was on this beautiful Duchess of Richmond that Lord Chesterfield wrote the following poem:

“What do scholars and bards and astronomers wise
Mean by stuffing our heads with nonsense and lies?
By telling us Venus must always appear
In a car, or a shell, or a twinkling star,
Drawn by sparrows or swans, or dolphins or doves,
Attended in form by the graces and loves?
That ambrosia and nectar is all she will taste,
And her passport to hearts on a belt round her waist.

¹ Sarah, daughter and co-heir of William, first Earl of Cadogan, one of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber, married in 1719 to Charles, second Duke of Richmond. She died in 1751. See Walpole's "Letters."

² Mary, daughter of Richard, Viscount Fitzwilliam, one of the maids of honour.

³ "Suffolk Letters," i. p. 288.

“Without all this bustle, I saw the bright dame;
To supper last night to Pulteney’s she came,
In a good warm sedan, no fine open car;
Two chairmen her doves, and a flambeau her star;
No nectar she drank, no ambrosia she eat,
Her cup was plain claret, a chicken her meat;
Nor wanted a cestus her bosom to grace;
For Richmond that night had lent her her face.”

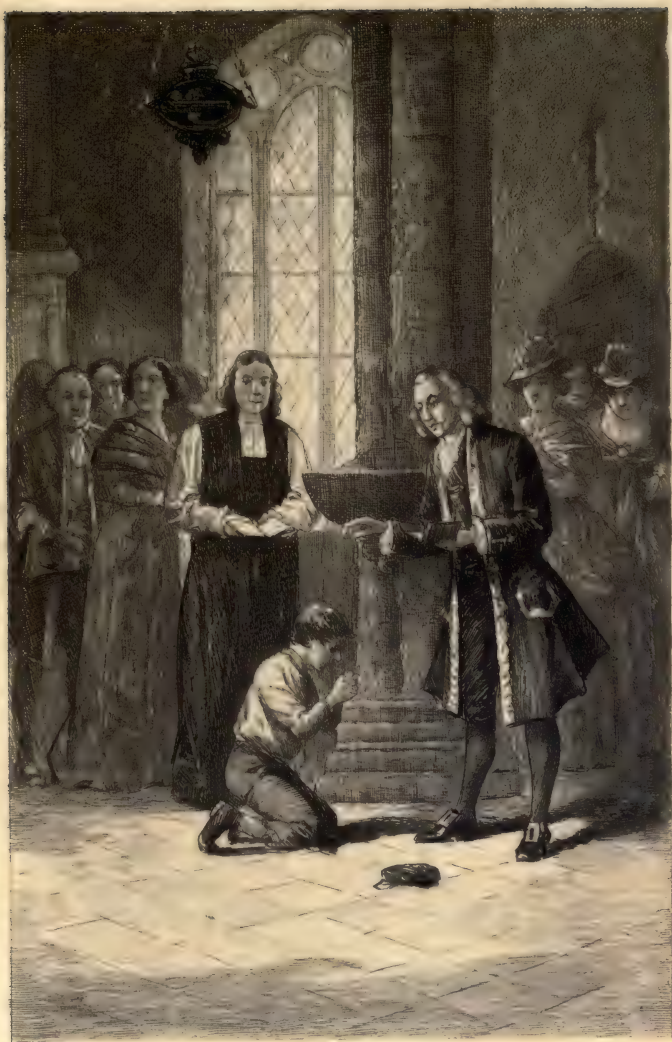
Toward the end of this month Lord Chesterfield was taken dangerously ill of a fever; and Boerhaave, the great physician of Leyden, was sent for to attend him.¹ His illness seems to have lasted some weeks, for his next letter is to Mrs. Howard on the 13th July. “The part which you do me the honour to say you took, both in my illness and my recovery, is too obliging for me to omit the very first opportunity of making you my acknowledgments for it; it has reconciled me to my own illness, for having caused such a declaration, and has added (if possible) to my concern for yours, for having hindered me from receiving it sooner.² . . . This place, though empty in comparison of what it is in the winter, is not yet without its recreations. I played at blind man’s buff till past three this morning; we have music in the Wood; parties out of town; besides the constant

¹ Doctor Arbuthnot to Mrs. Howard. — *Suffolk Letters*, i. p. 293.

² This letter is an answer to one which does not appear; but Mrs. Howard’s letters to others show that she had also been ill at this time.



The Christening of the Blackamoor
Original etching by Adrian Marcell



amusements of quadrille and scandal, which flourish and abound. We have even attempted two or three balls, but with very moderate success; the ladies here being a little apt to quarrel with one another, insomuch, that before you can dance down three couple, it is highly probable that two of them are sat down in a huff. Upon these occasions I show the circumspection of a minister, and observe a strict neutrality; by which means I have hitherto escaped being engaged in a war.”¹

In his next letter to Mrs. Howard, August 13th, he tells her how last Sunday he treated the people with an English christening in his chapel, of a blackamoor boy; having had him first instructed fully in the Christian faith by his chaplain,² and examined by himself. “The behaviour of the young Christian was decent and exemplary, and he renounced his likeness³ with great devotion, to the infinite edification of a very numerous audience of both sexes. Though I have by these means got the reputation of a very good Christian, yet the more thrifty and frugal people here

¹ “Suffolk Letters,” i. p. 299. He mentions these quarrelsome propensities again in a letter of July 26, 1729. “The women here have one way of animating the conversation, which perhaps might be of use to you at Kensington; that is by quarrelling and scolding one another. We are about twenty that sup constantly together every night; and a supper never ends without a quarrel between two or three of the finest women there.”

² Mr. Chenevix.

³ That is, the devil.

call my parts and economy a good deal in question for having put it out of my power ever to sell him. . . .” He goes on to tell how he is “over head and ears in mortar,” building a room of fifty feet long and thirty-four broad. “I believe you will think me extremely silly for building my tabernacle here; therefore I must tell you in my own justification, that I had not one large room in my house before, either to eat, dance, or pray in, and that the building of this will cost me less than removing to another house would have done.” He concludes by apologising for the length of his letter; “but as you know I used to be accused in England (and I doubt pretty justly) of having a need for such a proportion of talk in a day, that is now changed into a need of such a proportion of writing in a day.”¹

For, as Lord Mahon has observed, business, though at first strange and unwelcome, soon became easy, nay delightful, to him.² But he lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with his sovereign, for, with reference to his building operations above described, he says in a subsequent letter to Mrs. Howard, October 21st: “As it may possibly be thought extraordinary that I give no entertainment here upon his Majesty’s coronation day,³ I must beg the favour of you, when you have

¹ “Suffolk Letters,” i. p. 304.

² Preface to “Letters,” p. ix.

³ 11th October.

an opportunity, to let drop in a proper place, that my house is yet so full of workmen, that I have not a room to dine in; I hope to make amends upon the birthday.¹ I am sure all I can do will not express the duty and gratitude I feel, not only for past marks of his Majesty's goodness, but for late assurances of fresh ones."² And again, writing to her on July 26, 1729, he says: "I assure you, you need not be alarmed at what Lord Albemarle and Mrs. Macartney are pleased to call my magnificence, for it is nothing like it, and only what is barely necessary; and as for the expense, I should be very sorry to be a gainer by this or any other employment that the king may ever think fit to give me. Whatever my actions may be, interest shall never be thought to influence them; and if I can procure any credit to my master or myself, at the expense, not only of what he allows me, but even of my own, I shall think it very well bestowed."³

Two Garters having become vacant at this time, by the death of the king's brother, Ernest Augustus, Duke of York and Bishop of Osnabruck, Lord Chesterfield, being most desirous and ambitious of this mark of honour on account of

¹ 30th October. It appears by the periodical papers of the day that Lord Chesterfield's birthday entertainments were in the highest style of splendour, profusion, and magnificence.—*Note to Suffolk Letters*, i. p. 328.

² "Suffolk Letters," i. p. 326.

³ "Suffolk Letters," i. p. 347.

the advantage to himself in the position he now occupied, renewed his applications for it in his letters to Lord Townshend, secretary of state.¹ But his ambition in this respect was not gratified till his visit to England two years later.

There was, about this time, a project of marriage between Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal of Prussia, and so probable did the alliance appear, that Lord Chesterfield solicited Lord Townshend to recommend him as ambassador to Berlin upon the occasion. As the match was never agreed upon, it is needless to say more than that an account of the transaction will be found in the first volume of her memoirs, written by the lady herself, who was afterward married to the Prince of Bareith.²

At the latter end of this year, Lord Chesterfield had received private instructions for Lord Townshend to make overtures for the marriage which was projected between William Charles Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange, and Anne, Princess Royal of England; but the ambassador took the liberty of delaying to obey the king's commands for the reasons which he stated in a letter to Lord Townshend, of the 14th December:³ "I must

¹ "Letters," iii. pp. 31, 35.

² "Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine de Prusse, Margrave de Bareith, Sœur de Frédéric le Grand;" *écrits de sa main, en deux tomes.* 1812.

³ "Letters," iii. p. 38.

inform your lordship then in the first place, that I believe it is possible that some things might be communicated to the pensionary in confidence, which he would not tell the greffier; but I am firmly persuaded there is no one thing in the world that could be communicated to the greffier that he would not immediately tell the pensionary; and therefore I submit it to your lordship whether such a distinguished confidence in the one would not very much exasperate the other, when he should come to know it, which he certainly would immediately. The pensionary is extremely averse to the thoughts of that match already, and I doubt this would make him much more so. . . . The pensionary and greffier have the whole management of affairs in their own hands, and think they may lose, but cannot get, by a stadtholder, and consequently, while they can possibly carry on affairs without one, will, in my opinion, be as much against one, as any two people in the republic. Should this opinion of mine be true, as I have a good deal of reason to believe it is, if I had communicated this affair to the greffier, I am persuaded he would have given me no answer till he had first consulted the pensionary upon it; and I am equally persuaded that they would both have done their utmost endeavours to prevent it; that match being considered by everybody, and with reason, as the sure forerunner of the stadtholdership."

After stating the views of others whom he had consulted, that the marriage in question would certainly promote the prince's arriving at that dignity; that there was a design carrying on of getting the prince chosen stadtholder of another province, which would extremely facilitate his election in this, he goes on to say: "By all that I have been able to observe here, and I have omitted no opportunity of informing myself upon that subject, I think there is no reason to doubt but that that prince will inevitably be one day stadtholder of this province; but how soon, I believe it is impossible for anybody to guess. The army are nine in ten for him, and the common people unanimously so; his greatest enemies are the town of Amsterdam and the chief burgomasters of the other towns, whose oppressions, rapines, and extortions are now grown so flagrant and grievous, and daily increase so much, that they must, before it is very long, reduce the honest and thinking part of the republic to fly to a stadtholder as the only remedy. Or should that fail, the common people themselves, who groan under the oppressions and abuses of the magistrates, will by a general insurrection impose one upon them. . . . I should think therefore that if his Majesty is determined to give the princess royal to the Prince of Orange, it had better be communicated jointly to the pensionary and greffier, as a thing determined, than proposed to them as a thing doubtful; for, upon the suppo-

sition I go upon, that they will both be extremely averse to it, they will be less offended if it be done without, than against their consent. I submit it likewise to your lordship, whether anything of the stadtholdership should be mentioned to them or no; for I am sure it will startle them extremely, and whether it is mentioned or no, it will undoubtedly be sooner or later the necessary consequence of the match."

How entirely satisfactory to his court was the conduct of Lord Chesterfield in this delicate transaction appears by the answer of Lord Townshend to the above: "I received this morning your Excellency's very private and very instructive despatch, which I immediately laid before the king, who read it with great attention and approbation, and has commanded me to let you know, that for the reasons you give, he entirely approves of your conduct in not communicating to the greffier what you had orders to say to him."¹

After the coming of the prince to The Hague had been put off, first on account of the illness of his governor, M. Du Parc, and again in deference to the opinion of the pensionary, it was at last arranged that he should come on the 17th of February, and on his arrival Lord Chesterfield writes to Lord Townshend, on February 18th: "The Prince of Orange arrived here last night. I went to wait upon him, and as far as I am able to judge

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 43, in note.

from half an hour's conversation only, I think he has extreme good parts. He is perfectly well-bred, and civil to everybody, and with an ease and freedom seldom acquired but by a long knowledge of the world. His face is handsome; his shape is not so advantageous as could be wished, though not near so bad as I had heard it represented. . . . He assumes not the least dignity, but has all the affability and insinuation that is necessary for a person who would raise himself in a popular government." And again, on February 25th: "As I have had the honour of frequently conversing with the prince, I can assure your lordship, as far as I am able to judge, that he has both parts and knowledge, not only much above his age, but equal to anybody's; and without troubling your lordship with particulars, I believe I may venture to say that he will equal the greatest of his ancestors in great and good qualities; I hope he will in good fortune too."¹

The opinion thus expressed by Lord Chesterfield was fully borne out on the arrival of the Prince of Orange in England in 1733, when, though he was treated with neglect and with scarce common civility by the court, he was everywhere received by the people with huzzas and acclamations. His marriage with the princess royal took place on the 14th March, 1734; and the ill account which Lord Hervey gives of the

¹ Maty, pp. 293-294.

prince's person in his description of that ceremony was no doubt influenced by the king's jealous concern at his son-in-law's popularity, and the dislike felt for him by the queen and the younger princesses.¹

The States of Holland were equally jealous of the prince's popularity in that country, as his new alliance increased the probability of his being one day stadtholder; and this being his position in both countries, the king grew in haste to be rid of him. Accordingly, the princess royal and the prince took their departure for Holland about the end of April that year.²

The prediction of Lord Chesterfield respecting the stadtholdership was not, however, fulfilled till 1747, when, upon the advance of the French armies against Holland in April that year, the people rose in arms, first in Zealand and next at Rotterdam and The Hague, and proclaimed the Prince of Orange as stadtholder and captain-general with such unanimity that the deputies, however reluctant, were compelled to ratify and confirm his nomination. Shortly afterward a law was passed rendering the dignity hereditary in his house, and even enabling the widow of a stadtholder to direct affairs in the minority of her son, with the title of *gouvernante*. This actually occurred four years afterward, upon the sudden death of the prince

¹ "Memoirs," vol. i. pp. 233-235, 272-273, 306-311, 320-321.

² Lord Hervey, vol. i. pp. 321, 327.

in 1751, leaving his only son and successor, who was born in 1748.¹

To return from this digression to the affairs of our ambassador. On the occasion of the king's journey to Holland in the summer of this year, for the purpose of removing a misunderstanding between that electorate and the court of Berlin, caused by some Hanoverian subjects having been pressed into the service of Prussia, and the regents of Hanover having retaliated by seizing certain Prussian officers, Lord Chesterfield, by his active intercession, succeeded in averting the unpleasant consequences which might have resulted from this dispute.²

In August, Lord Chesterfield wrote to Lord Townshend, and to the Duke of Newcastle, soliciting the honour of paying his duty to the king, with the consent of the queen; and when he waited upon the king at Helvoet Sluys, he was most graciously received and warmly thanked by his Majesty for his services.³ The king returned to England early in September.

In October, Lord Chesterfield applied for, and

¹ "Letters," iii. pp. 197, 439. "Par cette revolution, les Provinces-Unies devinrent une espèce de monarchie mixte, moins restreinte à beaucoup d'égards que celles d'Angleterre, de Suède et de Pologne." — *Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV., Œuvres*, tome xxii. 187.

² Maty, pp. 58, 59; Smollett, ii. p. 484; and see Lord Hervey, i. p. 127.

³ "Letters," iii. pp. 56, 57; "Newcastle Papers," 32,687.

obtained permission to come to England on leave.¹

This visit to England, ostensibly on account of private business, appears to have been at the secret suggestion of Lord Townshend, who, with a view of lessening the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, was desirous of having Lord Chesterfield for his colleague as secretary of state.²

The result, however, was that Lord Townshend, whose quarrel with Sir Robert Walpole was now risen to that height that they could no longer act together, retired into the country, and Lord Harrington³ received the seals. But Lord Chesterfield was consoled for this disappointment by obtaining the great object of his desires, the Blue Ribband. On May 18th he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and was installed as such at Windsor on the 18th June.⁴ And on the following day, the lord steward's staff, which had been vacated by the Duke of Dorset's being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was also given to

¹ Letter to Lord Townshend, "Letters," iii. p. 57.

² Maty, p. 59; Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," i. p. 335.

³ William Stanhope, lately created Lord Harrington for his services in concluding the treaty of Seville. He was a kinsman of Lord Chesterfield, being descended from Sir John Stanhope, younger brother of the first earl. After holding the seals of secretary for many years, and being in 1741 promoted to an earldom, he succeeded Lord Chesterfield, in 1746, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He died in 1756. — *Lord Hervey*, i. 140-41; *Letters* iii. 60.

⁴ Maty, p. 60.

Lord Chesterfield, who, says Lord Hervey, "made the warmest professions to Sir Robert Walpole, acknowledging that his attachment this winter to Lord Townshend gave him no right to expect this favour, and saying: 'I had lost the game, but you have taken my cards into your hand, and recovered it.'"¹

After assisting at the council, in which the report was made of Colonel Chartres's trial and condemnation, for a rape he had not committed, and for which he was pardoned,² Lord Chesterfield returned to his post at The Hague in August.

The justice and impartiality with which Lord Chesterfield acted in the distribution of his patronage as lord steward is worthy of special remark, and will appear from the following letter to Dean Swift, who had writ to him, recommending for some appointment in his office "an honest man whose name is Launcelot."

"HAGUE, Dec. 15, 1730.

"SIR:— You need not have made any excuse to me for your solicitation; on the contrary, I am proud of being the first person to whom you have thought it worth while to apply since those changes, which, you say, drove you into distance

¹ Maty, p. 60; Lord Hervey, "Memoirs," i. p. 142.

² Maty, p. 292. For an account of Chartres, see Pope's "Epistle to Lord Bathurst," and Arbuthnot's "Epitaph on Chartres."

and obscurity. I very well know the person you recommend to me, having lodged at his house a whole summer at Richmond. I have always heard a very good character of him, which alone would incline me to serve him ; but your recommendation, I can assure you, will make me impatient to do it. However, that he may not again meet with the common fate of court suitors, nor I lie under the imputation of making court promises, I will exactly explain to you how far it is likely I may be able to serve him.

“When first I had this office, I took the resolution of turning out nobody ; so that I shall only have the disposal of those places that the death of the present possessors will procure me. Some old servants that have served me long and faithfully have obtained the promises of the first four or five vacancies ; and the early solicitations of some of my particular friends have tied me down for about as many more. But, after having satisfied these engagements, I do assure you, Mr. Launcelot shall be my first care. I confess, his prospect is more remote than I could have wished it ; but, as it is so remote, he will not have the uneasiness of a disappointment if he gets nothing ; and if he gets something, we shall both be pleased.

“As for his political principles, I am in no manner of pain about them. Were he a Tory, I would venture to serve him, in the just expectation that, should I ever be charged with having

preferred a Tory, the person who was the author of my crime would likewise be the author of my vindication." ¹

We must now turn to the complication of difficulties with which Lord Chesterfield had to deal on his return to The Hague; which place, being comparatively neutral ground, became the most suitable for the necessary negotiations. The treaty of Seville, made in 1729 between England, France, and Spain, "stipulated the introduction of six thousand Spaniards, instead of neutral troops, as specified by the Quadruple Alliance, into Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, for securing to Don Carlos the eventful succession to those duchies, in case the reigning sovereigns should die without issue male; and if the emperor would not acquiesce, forcible means were to be used for effectuating the introduction." ² This treaty was as displeasing to the emperor because it had been concluded, as it was to Philip V. because it still remained unexecuted. But as it was not consistent with the interests of Great Britain to go to war with

¹ To this answer, which Scott thought evasive, though written with his lordship's "characteristic politeness," Swift replied with equally characteristic irony. Lord Chesterfield was, however, perfectly sincere in his good intentions, and soon found an opportunity of providing for Mr. Launcelot. See Swift's works, edit. Scott, xvii. pp. 320, 336, 341; and "Chesterfield's Letters," iii. p. 63, note by Mahon.

² Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," i. p. 303.

Austria, it became most important to induce the emperor to acquiesce in that treaty without recourse to arms. This inducement lay in the pragmatic sanction, — that is, the settlement made by the Emperor Charles VI., in 1722, of his hereditary dominions upon his daughter, Maria Theresa, which the king (George II.) was willing to guarantee upon receiving in return certain concessions tending to the aggrandisement of his electorate, and it was upon these electoral points that the chief difficulties of the negotiation turned, and in which Lord Chesterfield, not less by his diplomatic ability than by his conciliatory disposition, was at last successful in bringing about a satisfactory settlement, in spite of foes — and friends.¹

The part which our ambassador bore in this important business will appear by the following extracts from his private letters to his court, which will illustrate the foregoing statement, and display the wisdom and temper with which he combated the obstructions caused in a great measure by the demands of the King of England as Elector of Hanover.

Writing to Lord Harrington, September 19, 1730, Lord Chesterfield says: "I look upon our negotiation with the emperor as begun; but I look upon it, too, as very far from being ended, and I foresee the many difficultys that will arise in the course of it. The king thinks the guarranty so

¹Maty, p. 60; "Letters," iii. p. 61, note.

great a concession that it entitles him to ask anything or everything. The emperor considers it in a different light ; and though desirous to obtain it, will not purchase it too dear. He knows it is almost as much our interest as his : he sees our situation with France, and he apprehends little from the concurrence of such jarring particles as our present alliance is formed of. These difficulties, which to me are obvious ones, will certainly spin out the negotiation to a considerable length, though not break it off ; for the good of it is, that when once begun, and the demands of England and the republic meeting with little difficulty, as I am persuaded they will, it will be impossible to break it off, for the sake of some certain conditions that your lordship and I know of. But as these difficulties will take up a good deal of time, and probably not be discussed here, or, if they were, as I am both unfit and unwilling to be concerned in them, I submit it to your lordship, whether it is not time to think of a successor for me here, who will require some time to get ready, and who it may be proper should be here before I go.”¹

“To George Tilson, Esq.

“Dec. 12, 1730.

“I am sorry the answer from the court of Vienna is not satisfactory at first, for I am per-

¹ Coxe, “Memoirs of Walpole,” iii. p. 32.

suaded it will be so at last, but it is asking too much of the emperor to ask him to do what none of his family ever could do, *agir de bonne grace*. For my own part, I see no other way of getting out of this scrape. I think it is pretty plain France will not help us out of it, at least, without drawing us into a worse. Monsieur Fénélon¹ takes immense pains to persuade the people here of *la droiture scrupuleuse*, as he calls it, of his court, but to very little purpose. I know 'tis a bold word, but I really think him the silliest minister in Europe. . . . I find I shall have the pleasure of seeing you soon in England. Without pretending to be fatigued with business, I have had enough on't to desire no more, and to be very glad to be quiet in St. James's Square."²

"To Lord Harrington.

"Dec. 19, 1730.

"The treaty sent to Vienna, as far as it relates to England and the republick, is such as the emperor (I think in prudence) ought to agree to; but considering his haughtiness and obstinacy, and the knowledge he certainly has of the distrusts and jealousies among the Allies, I fear it is uncertain whether he will or no.

¹ The French ambassador at The Hague, nephew and heir of the author of "*Télémaque*."

² "*Letters*," iii. p. 62. Lord Chesterfield's house in London.

"I hope Monsieur Dieden's ¹ demands will not prove an obstruction to this affair; but I cannot comprehend what can be meant by an additional security of the king's electoral dominions, which are already guarantied over and over by all the powers upon earth, and by the whole empire, as being part of it; so that I suspect additional security to mean additional dominions, which can only be by dismembering Mecklenburg, upon a pretence of paying in that manner the expenses of the commission. And this, I think, the emperor never can, and the empire never will, consent to; it being a total subversion of all the fundamental laws of the empire.

"I am very willing to stay here till this affair be determined one way or other, and the more so, because, should the emperor agree, I foresee there will be some difficultys in finishing here, where, from the nature of the government, every wrong head or heart has a right of opposition, and can do hurt, though not good." ²

"To Lord Harrington.

"Dec. 26th, 1730.

"Mr. Finch ³ has writ me word that he embarks next Monday in the yacht that is to attend me

¹ The king's minister at Vienna as Elector of Hanover.

² Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," iii. p. 44.

³ The Hon. William Finch, son of Daniel, sixth Earl of Win-

here; and I propose making it wait till I have some answer from Vienna. If the treaty comes back signed, to be sure I will stay here till I have got the republick into it. But supposing the answer should be doubtful and dilatory, and plainly show that at least it will take up a good deal more time, I beg both your advice and instructions what I should do in that case, which I am apt to think will exist. For having told Count Sinzendorf, in general, that I had forwarded a courier to Vienna, who would one way or other determine affairs, in about three weeks' time, he said, that let it be what it would that the courier carried, even though it were acceptable, yet he knew from the constant dull delays of his court, that they would take at least a month to consider of anything final; and that he hoped I should not look upon such a delay, so natural to the imperial court, as any design to amuse or gain time. I told him I certainly should, and that, considering the crisis things were now in, it was impossible to see it in any other light. . . . I heartily wish this affair may succeed; for if it does not, I think we shall be in a very bad condition. The design of France, to do either nothing or too much, is now too plain to be doubted of, and the jealousies and distrusts among the Allies have taken too deep a root to be removed, with any prospect of future con-

chelsea, and appointed envoy at The Hague, on Lord Chesterfield's intended return to his post at home as lord steward.

cert. And if the emperor is obstinate enough to reduce us to return to France, after this jealousy, we shall be obliged to give them fatal pledges of our future fidelity.”¹

In his next letter to Lord Harrington, dated January 2, 1731, after mentioning an intercepted letter from Monsieur Hop² at The Hague to his brother in England, he says: “I cannot conceive upon what Monsieur Hop founds his assertion of my being uneasy at being recalled, as he terms it, and of attributing it to the ill-will of the two brothers, as he is familiarly pleased to call Sir Robert and Horace. I am sure not upon anything I have said to him, for I

¹ Coxe, “Memoirs of Walpole,” iii. p. 46.

² Whom, in a letter to his son, June 23, 1752, he thus describes: “Pray cultivate Monsieur Hop, the Dutch minister, who has always been very much my friend, and will, I am sure, be yours. His manners, it is true, are not very engaging; he is rough, but he is sincere. It is very useful sometimes to see the things which one ought to avoid, as it is right to see very often those which one ought to imitate; and my friend Hop’s manners will frequently point out to you what yours ought to be, by the rule of contraries.

“Congreve points out a sort of critics, to whom he says that we are doubly obliged:

“‘Rules for good writing they with pains indite,
Then show us what is bad, by what they write.’

“It is certain that Monsieur Hop, with the best heart in the world, and a thousand good qualities, has a thousand enemies, and hardly a friend, singly from the roughness of his manners.”

have conversed with him but once since his return from France, and that was only upon public affairs, and before I had obtained leave to come back; and it seems very surprising that a minister who has obtained leave to return to his own country should rather choose to have that return attributed to his disgrace, than to his favour, at his own court. Foreign ministers frequently pretend to be better than they really are; but, I believe I should be the first that ever desired to be thought ill at his court, that was really not so, as I hope I am not.

“Your lordship very well knows that when I came back here last summer, it was declared by their Majesties, and understood by me and everybody else, that I was to return for good and all, by the meeting of the Parliament; so that my writing to your lordship lately upon that subject was only reminding you of a thing fixed, and not desiring anything new when I came here. I told everybody I should return to England after Christmas, and that the employment the king had done me the honour to give me required my attendance in England; so that my return was universally expected here, and is nothing new, nor can consequently be attributed to any of Monsieur Hop’s surmises. If Monsieur Hop interprets my saying, that I am personally sorry to leave this place, to be discontent, I cannot help it. It is true I have said that to everybody here, and it is no

more than what common civility, and even truth, requires from me. I have all the reason in the world personally to regret leaving this place, but that is no argument for my being discontented at my return.

"As I suppose the king has seen this letter of Monsieur Hop's, I must desire your lordship will be pleased to set this matter right with his Majesty, who would have very great reason to be offended, if he could believe that while on one side I beg his leave to return, on the other I complain and am dissatisfied with obtaining it. I should be extremely sorry, at my return to England, to meet with any ill-will or suspicions; for I solemnly declare I shall bring none with me. I desire to live in friendship with all that are in his Majesty's service; it was upon that foot that I took the employment I have, and upon that foot only will I keep it."¹

In his next letter to Lord Harrington, on January 16th, after saying that he was glad to find that the trouble about Monsieur Hop's intercepted letter was unnecessary, he says: "Your lordship will have seen by this time, that I guessed pretty right, as to our negotiation at Vienna, that it would still require couriers, and that Monsieur Dieden's de-

¹ Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," iii. p. 47. I have set out the above letter almost in full because I shall presently have to refer to it, when we come to Lord Chesterfield's recall to England in the following year.

mands would create the great difficultys ; and this I find has exactly happened, though I am very sure the court of Vienna was resolved to bring all possible facilitys to Monsieur Dieden's demands. I should be wanting to the regard and friendship I profess for your lordship, if I did not lay before you the fatal, but natural, and even necessary, consequences that will attend the breaking off of this negotiation upon electoral points, in which you are more particularly concerned, as being in your department.

“This negotiation is already known by many, and suspected by all ; should it break off, we must be more in the power of France than ever, who then knowing that we have no resource left, will use us as they think fit, and insist upon dangerous pledges of our future fidelity ; we must either enter into all their destructive schemes, or at best continue, a good while longer, in the disagreeable and unpopular situation we are at present in. But this is not the worst neither ; for it is impossible that this negotiation, so far advanced, can now break off, without additional acrimony on both sides ; and in that case it cannot be expected but that the emperor will take the natural advantage of declaring to the nation and to this republick, that the public tranquillity might have been restored, that he had agreed to all the points that related to England and this country, but that electoral considerations only prevented the con-

clusion of so desirable a work, and plunged us into so dangerous a war. What effect this will have, I need not say; our enemies will tell us with pleasure.¹ Nor can I answer that, when the republick shall once know it, as they certainly will know it, they will not conclude a separate peace, or a neutrality upon any terms; such are their apprehensions of a war, and especially of this war. The pensionary at first apprehended difficultys from these electoral points, even without knowing them, and only from the outward aspect of affairs in that part of the world, and he thought it would be impossible to adjust them by treaty; but he hoped they would be referred to future negotiations, after the harmony between the two courts should be restored, and that then the emperor might connive at what he could not publicly authorise. But if the whole negotiation should break off, upon any or all of these electoral points, I think it is impossible to describe the fatal consequences that must result from it both to the king, the ministry, and the nation.”²

In a letter to George Tilson of the 30th January, he says: “The secret is now no longer one, and the negotiation is talked of everywhere, which increases the necessity of finishing the affair immediately one way or another. How it came out, I don’t know, but I am sure not from hence, where

¹ See *post*, p. 129.

² Coxe, “Memoirs of Walpole,” iii. p. 77.

I own it has been better kept than I expected. If at last I should come back with an olive branch, I doubt it will not be before the spring is so far advanced, that I might bring a real one if I pleased."¹

His next letter to Lord Harrington, of February 14th, relates to the ill consequences to be apprehended at the court of Vienna from the declaration issued by the Marquis de Castelar, Spanish ambassador at Paris, on the 29th January, that the king, his master, considered himself free from all the engagements contracted at Seville.

"Upon the whole, I fear delays and chicanes, that will be as bad as a refusal. These inconveniences would have been all prevented if we had taken these measures when I went to England last, and was charged by the pensionary to recommend them in the strongest manner, which I did, though to no purpose.

"I am likewise far from being persuaded that our electoral demands are made much more reasonable than they were. . . . If the court of Vienna has really no mind to conclude, but to break off advantageously, they will certainly lay the whole stress upon the Hanover points, which they may easily do, every one of these points being at best but doubtful, and yet it is certain we shall not recede from them all. If that should

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 73.

happen to be the case, and that case become public, as it certainly will, we shall be in a fine situation." ¹

In his letter two days afterward, February 16th, to Lord Harrington, he tells how a courier, having arrived the day before from Vienna, he went to Count Sinzendorf, who said to him, with a great deal of surprise and concern, " 'You have kept the most material point a secret from me, and never told me that this whole affair turns upon the king's electoral demands, which are such as it is not in the emperor's power to comply with. The emperor has showed the utmost facility in everything that concerned himself or depended upon him. He has given up the Ostend trade, by which the Netherlands will be ruined; he has consented to the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy, by which all his possessions there will be in danger; and yet all this is to avail him nothing, unless he engages to do what is not in his power to perform, but depends upon the empire, and to which the empire never can nor will consent. The present king demands ten times more as Elector of Hanover than ever the late king did, and yet everything between England and the emperor is to be deemed null and void unless these impossible demands are complied with, as you will see by this declaration of Mr.

¹ Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," iii. p. 90.

Robinson's ;' ¹ and then he showed me a declaration of Mr. Robinson's, setting forth that 'unless *tous les points Allemands* (those are the words) be settled to his Majesty's entire satisfaction, everything else *doit être censé nul*.'

"I told him that the king having a German minister at Vienna to transact those affairs, I was an utter stranger to them, and that, was I to know them, I was too ignorant of the laws and constitution of the empire to be able to judge how far they were consistent or inconsistent with them, but that I took it for granted impossibilities could not be asked. He said yes, but they were, and ran into a long detail of the several demands ; and then concluded with saying that it was to no purpose for the emperor to explain himself so fully as otherwise he might have done upon the points concerning England only, since they were to be of no effect, unless these impossibilities were granted at the same time." ²

Lord Chesterfield then submits that, as Count Kinski ³ in England would receive the same accounts, this could only be done with the view he had so long apprehended, of declaring to the world that the negotiation broke off only upon electoral points.

¹ At that time British minister at Vienna, in 1754 appointed secretary of state, and in 1761 created Lord Grantham.

² Coxe "Memoirs of Walpole," iii. p. 91.

³ The imperial minister in England.

The difficulties were, however, being removed, and the negotiation was drawing to a close, for in his next letter to Lord Harrington, February 27th, our ambassador writes :

“I am very glad of the orders your lordship says Mr. Robinson has to sign abstractedly from the electoral points, and Monsieur Dieden to refer them to a future negotiation, and I hope these orders will be executed, though I confess I have great doubts upon that affair. There are too many good reasons for and against the court of Vienna’s concluding the treaty for me to judge which will prevail ; but I am sure all reasons concur for us to hope for the conclusion of it.

“If Mr. Finch is impatient to come here, I am sure I am not less so to return to England ; and if he has a mind to take the trouble of bringing the republic into the treaty of Vienna in case it be concluded, I will most cheerfully resign to him both the trouble and the credit of doing it. I have stay’d here till now, not by choice, but by obedience ; and I shall be gladder to see Mr. Finch here whenever he comes than he can possibly be to come.”¹

Lord Chesterfield’s last letter respecting this vexatious affair of the treaty, so far as Vienna was concerned, was to George Tilson on March 27th :

“I am very much surprised at not having yet

¹ Coxe, “Memoirs of Walpole,” iii. p. 94.

received a courier from Vienna, and the more so because Mr. Robinson, by his letter of the 14th, acquaints me that everything was adjusted, and Friday the 16th fixed for signing. Had the treaty been then signed, I should have received it some days ago. I don't know what to ascribe this delay to but the natural slowness and trifling of that court, for I am convinced they are sincere in the main.

"The French ambassador here grows sullen, and affects an indifference about the event of this negotiation, though every now and then he betrays his uneasiness at it. He has not mentioned it to me yet, nor I to him. The conduct of Spain is too extraordinary, and I admire the frankness of their declarations, that they will have no regard to the ties of faith, honour, or solemn treaties, but will join with the devil if he will but do what they want. I own I credit these professions so much that I am persuaded we shall soon see something come out of their separate negotiations with France."¹

The treaty, which was in fact concluded between Lord Chesterfield, the pensionary, and Count Sinzendorf at The Hague,² was signed at Vienna on the 16th of March, and is usually called the second treaty of Vienna, to distinguish it from that which was concluded in 1725. According to

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 80.

² "Letters," ii. p. 381.

Coxe's summary of its terms, "it was a defensive alliance, and stipulated a reciprocal guaranty of mutual rights and possessions; on the part of England, to guarantee the emperor's succession, according to the pragmatic sanction; on that of the emperor, to abolish the Ostend Company and all trade to the East Indies, from any part of the Austrian Netherlands, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Tuscany, and not to oppose the introduction of Spanish garrisons. Thus was this great and difficult task of preventing a general war accomplished with an address and secrecy that reflected high honour on those who conducted it."¹

But the task still remained of obtaining the concurrence of the States, and much delay was caused, owing to the unanimity required by the constitution for every act of each town and each province separately, and then for every act of the seven collectively; and this unanimity could sometimes only be procured by some little concession, such as Lord Chesterfield gives an instance of on this occasion.² It was, however, at last accomplished,

¹ Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," i. p. 346; Maty, p. 61.

² "When I was soliciting the accession of the republic to the treaty of Vienna in 1731, which the pensionary, Count Sinzen-dorf, and I had made secretly at The Hague, all the towns in Holland came pretty readily into it, except the little town of Briel; whose deputies frankly declared, that they would not give their consent till Major Such-a-one, a very honest gentleman of their town, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and

but not apparently till the close of this year, and his last letters contain only complaints of the delays at The Hague: "For my own part, if I would teach anybody the Christian virtues of patience, forbearance, and long-suffering, I would send them to negotiate a treaty here."¹ "When once our conferences begin here, I expect abundance of wrangling, ridiculous doubts, and absurd suspicions; but I think we shall at last get the better of them all. I have let fall some insinuations that I think begin to operate; they are extremely sensible of fear here, for which reason I have circulated some lessons that begin to have a good effect."²

It was his sense of this "monstrous and impracticable" unanimity that induced our ambassador, in a conversation with the pensionary, to say that he would promote the Prince of Orange's views and interest, as far as he could, privately and quietly, as he was convinced that it was for the interest of the republic that the prince should become stadtholder.³

We have seen from Lord Chesterfield's letters,

that, as soon as that was done they would agree, for they approved of the treaty. This was accordingly done in two or three days, and then they agreed." See "Some Account of the Government of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces," at the end of "Chesterfield's Letters to his Son." — *Letters*, ii. p. 381.

¹ July 27th.

² September 11th.

³ Which, after his marriage with the princess royal, he ultimately did. *Ante* p. 55, and "Some Account," etc., as above.

that from the time of his return to The Hague, he had been looking forward to coming back to England, and had remained only to conclude the negotiation for the treaty.¹ He did not, however, come back till the following year, and then on account of the ill state of his health, which, many years afterward, he describes in a letter to his son :² "I had that year been dangerously ill of a fever in Holland ; and when I was recovered of it, the febrific humour fell into my legs, and swelled them to that degree, and chiefly in the evening, that it was as painful to me, as it was shocking to others." He goes on to tell that he came to England in that condition ; and in spite of the prescriptions of Mead, Broxholme, and Arbuthnot, remained so near six months, when he consulted Palmer, "the most eminent surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital," who ordered him to put his legs up to the knees every morning in brine ; and that, after having thus pickled his legs for about three weeks, the complaint absolutely ceased.

Maty mentions this illness, but also hints that his desire to be recalled was granted "perhaps for the very reason that had procured him his appointment, the fear of his acquiring too great an interest with his sovereign."³ And the editor of the "Suffolk Letters" says : "Lord Chesterfield was re-

¹ *Ante* p. 67.

² Bath, Nov. 15, 1766. — *Letters*, iv. p. 439.

³ Maty, p. 63.

called from the embassy to The Hague, in 1732, on the pretence of ill health; but his opposition to the measures of Walpole, and particularly the part he took against the excise bill, lead us to suspect that there was some political cause for his recall."¹ But these conjectures are inconsistent with Lord Chesterfield's own letters, as above set out, showing that his return home was partly because he had fulfilled his mission, and partly on account of his health; and also with chronology, for the excise scheme — his opposition to which led to his dismissal from his post of lord steward — was not brought on till the following year.

Maty says that, "on the recovery of his health, he began to appear as a speaker in the House of Lords." But the state of his health — pickling his legs — must have prevented him from taking any part in the debates that year, as the session was put an end to on the 1st June.²

His first appearance in the ensuing session was on the 6th March, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill, by which it was proposed to keep up the troops to the number of seventeen thousand or eighteen thousand men, when he contended that, so far from that number being dangerous to our liberties, it was absolutely necessary for our preservation, and that if any attempts were to be made upon our liberties, he was persuaded that the gen-

¹ "Suffolk Letters," ii. p. 63, note.

² Maty, p. 63; 8 "Parl. Hist.," 1167-1168.

tlements of the army would be the first to join heartily and unanimously in the defence of their country.¹

On the 14th March Sir Robert Walpole brought forward his famous excise scheme, — most unjustly represented as a general excise, whereas it related only to the duties on wine and tobacco, — and although the minister might have carried it by a sufficient majority, so violent was the popular outcry against the measure, that when it came on for a second reading on the 11th April, Walpole moved that it should be postponed for two months, and thus it was dropped.² But although the minister acted with "characteristic caution" in thus withdrawing his bill, he also acted with "characteristic energy" in turning out his hostile or wavering colleagues, who had influenced their friends against him in the House. Lord Chesterfield, whose three brothers had voted against the bill, was one of the first sacrifices to Walpole's revenge. The bill was abandoned on the 11th April; and on the 13th, as Lord Chesterfield, in

¹ Maty, p. 64; 8 "Parl. Hist.," 1236.

² Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," i. p. 405; Lord Hervey, I., chapters viii. and ix.; Mahon's "History of England," II. chap. xvi.

The prejudice against excise continued long after the excitement had subsided. Witness Johnson's definition in the first edition of his dictionary, published in 1755. "Excise: a hateful tax, levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid."

company with his friend Lord Scarborough, was going up the great stairs of St. James's Palace, he was stopped by a servant of the Duke of Grafton, who told him that the duke had been that morning at his house, and wished to see him there on a matter of importance. Lord Chesterfield's chariot not being at hand, he was carried home by his friend, and immediately followed by the Duke of Grafton, who informed him that he came by the king's command to require the surrender of the white staff. The earl immediately complied, and begged his Grace to assure the king that he was ready to make any sacrifice for his Majesty's service except his honour and conscience.¹

At the same time were dismissed, as being leagued with him, Lord Clinton, a lord of the bedchamber, the Earl of Burlington, captain of the band of pensioners, and three Scotch peers—the Duke of Montrose, keeper of the Great Seal, the Earl of Stair, vice-admiral, and the Earl of Marchmont, lord register. To these were added the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, who were deprived of their regiments.

Thus was the king's unabated confidence in his minister declared, the minister's revenge gratified, and the opposition strengthened and reinforced.

A day or two after his dismissal, Lord Chester-

¹ Maty, p. 65; Coxe, "Memoirs of Walpole," i. p. 405-406; Lord Hervey, I. chs. viii., ix; Mahon, "Hist. of England," II. chap. xvi.; Macaulay, "Essay on Lord Chatham."

field wrote to the king ; but whatever may have been the contents of the letter, it produced no good effect, for upon his next going to court, soon afterward, he was so far from being well received, that he did not again make his appearance there till the necessity of the times occasioned his recall.¹ The lord steward's staff was given to the Duke of Devonshire.

The next attack upon the ministry in which Lord Chesterfield joined was an inquiry proposed by the House of Lords to see in what manner the money arising from the sale of the forfeited estates of the South Sea directors in 1720 had been disposed of. The question was debated in the House on the 3d and 24th May, and 1st June ; but in the result, the conduct of the administration, though severely, was not successfully arraigned.²

The last debate in which Lord Chesterfield took part this session was on a bill for granting a marriage portion to the princess royal, when he protested against the amount being put amongst other items, as disrespectful, urging that her mar-

¹ Maty, p. 66. Of this letter, which is not extant, Lord Hervey says : " Lord Chesterfield wrote the king a letter the next morning, of which he gave me the following copy. The king sent him no answer ; and Sir Robert Walpole, to whom the king showed it, and who did not know I had seen it, told me that Chesterfield had written the king a letter, extremely laboured, but not well done." — *Memoirs*, i. p. 207.

² Maty, p. 70 ; Lord Hervey, I. chap. x. ; 9 "Parl. Hist.," 98, 108, 149.

riage portion ought to have been provided in a bill by itself.¹

We next find Lord Chesterfield at Scarborough, then, as still, a place of fashionable resort, whence, writing to Lady Suffolk² in August, he says: "The ladies here are innumerable, and I really believe they all come for their healths, for they look very ill. The men of pleasure are Lord Carmichael, Colonel Ligonier, and the celebrated Tom Paget, who attend upon the Duke of Argyle all day, and dance with the pretty ladies at night. Here are, besides, hundreds of Yorkshire beaux, who play the inferior parts, and as it were, only tumble, while those three dance upon the high ropes of gallantry.

"The grave people are mostly malignants, or in ministerial language, notorious Jacobites, such as Lord Stair, Marchmont, Anglesea, and myself,

¹ 9 "Parl. Hist.," 120.

² Mrs. Howard had become Lady Suffolk by the succession of her husband, the Hon. Charles Howard, to the earldom of Suffolk, in 1731. This is the first letter extant of Lord Chesterfield's since his last from The Hague at the end of 1731. Lord Mahon, in his note to it, says that Lord Chesterfield, "soon after his return to England," had taken part against Walpole's excise bill, and assigns the giving up of that scheme to 11th April, 1732. This date is, no doubt, an error of the press, but it has been continued in the subsequent reprints of the letters. Still, the note is misleading; for, as I have shown in the text, *ante*, p. 78, Lord Chesterfield was ill for some months after his return to England in 1732, and the excise scheme was not till 1733, which can hardly be called "soon after."

not to mention many of the House of Commons of equal disaffection. Moreover Pulteney and Lord Carteret are expected here soon; so that if the ministry do not make a plot of this meeting, it is plain they do not want one for this year. The people of this town are at present in great consternation, upon a report they have heard from London, which, if true, they think will ruin them. I confess I do not believe it; not but that there is something probable enough in it. They are informed, that considering the vast consumption of these waters, there is a design laid of excising them next session; and moreover, that as bathing in the sea is become the general practice of both sexes, and as the Kings of England have always been allowed to be masters of the seas, every person so bathing shall be gauged, and pay so much per foot square as their cubical bulk amounts to. I own there are many objections to this scheme, which no doubt occur to you; but to be sure, too, there is one less than to the last, for this tax being singly upon water, it is evident it would be an ease to the landed interest, which it is as plain the other would not have been.

"I must not forget my compliments to Miss Hobart.¹ I make my compliments likewise to those who will open and peruse this letter before you do."²

¹ Lady Suffolk's niece, Dorothy Hobart.

² "Suffolk Letters," ii. p. 58. The suggestion that his letter

Writing again to Lady Suffolk, August 17th, he says : " There is hardly anything (though ever so valuable in itself) that may not receive some additional value from a certain concurrence of circumstances : this is the case of your letter, which, though I should at all times have valued as I ought, yet in this particular juncture, I must look upon it as a most uncommon and uncourtlike piece of friendship and intrepidity.¹ It may, for ought I know, have brought you within the statute of Edward III., as aiding, abetting, and comforting the king's enemies ; for I can depose that it comforted me, and there are enough ready to depose that I am an enemy of the king's ; so that, by an induction not very much strained for the law, your generosity has drawn you into high treason. Besides, as to the contents of your letter, did you reflect upon the strict examinations it was to undergo before it reached me ; did you consider that it was to be submitted to the penetration of Lord Lovell, and to the more slow, but not less sure sagacity of Mr. Carteret ;² that from them a faithful copy of it was to be trans-

might be opened at the post-office occurs so frequently in the correspondence of the eminent men of this period, that there must have been good ground for it.

¹ Alluding, of course, to his recent dismissal. It is unfortunate that we have not Lady Suffolk's letter to which this is an answer.

² Lord Lovell and Edward Carteret were at this time joint postmasters-general.

mitted to others of not inferior abilities, and known dabs at finding out mysteries; and could you then hope that your allegory of commerce and cribbage could escape undiscovered, especially since the influence of the pair royal and the advantage of the knave, at those games, give so obvious a key to it. . . . I leave this place (thank God) to-morrow, and go to Cobham's¹ for five or six days, where I shall diligently look for a certain busto that I heard much talked of there last year; if I meet with it, woe betide it, for we certainly shall not part without a distich or two. From thence, I shall take London in my way to Norfolk, in which county I (though unworthy) shall presume to stay about a fortnight. Should I be seized there as contraband, I give you fair warning, I shall produce your letter as a passport."²

On the 5th September this year, Lord Chesterfield married Melosina de Shoulenbourg, nominally the niece of Erengard de Shoulenbourg, Duchess of Kendal;³ or rather her daughter, as was be-

¹ Stowe, where Lord Cobham designed to place Lady Suffolk's bust in his newly built Temple of Friendship.

² "Suffolk Letters," ii. p. 63. Alluding to the residence and influence of his opponent, Sir R. Walpole, and to Lady Suffolk, as also a native of Norfolk.

³ Who is thus described by the Margrave de Bareith: "*La Comtesse Schoulenbourg, alors Duchesse de Kendell et Princesse d'Eberstein, étoit sa maîtresse, ou plutôt il l'avoit épousée de la main gauche. Elle étoit du nombre de ces personnes qui sont si bonnes, que pour ainsi dire, elles ne sont bonnes à rien. Elle n'avoit ni vices ni vertus, et toute son étude ne consistoit qu'à*

lieved, by George I. She had been created by the king, in April, 1722, Baroness of Aldborough, and Countess of Walsingham. The marriage appears to have been in contemplation for some years, but had been retarded by the king's opposition to it on account of Lord Chesterfield's addiction to gaming. Of this marriage, it has been said that it was "apparently as little happy from a domestic as it was of value from a political point of view."

Its "political value" may be given up, for though it may have brought Chesterfield into closer personal relations with the king, he continued to act in opposition to the government for many years after ; but its "apparent" unhappiness seems to be founded only upon the fact of Lord and Lady Chesterfield having lived for some time in separate houses, and upon the statement often repeated, but which is not a fact, that her name rarely occurs in his letters.¹

That the new married pair did live for some

conserver sa faveur et à empêcher que quelque autre ne la supplantât." — *Memoires*, vol. i. p. 73. See *ante*, p. 50, note.

¹ Mahon ; Preface to "Letters ;" and "Memoir" by Lord Carnarvon, who seems to accept what Mrs. Oliphant says, with true feminine inaccuracy, that Lady Chesterfield's name "does not occur half a dozen times in his correspondence." — *Memoir*, p. xx ; *Blackwood's Magazine*, May, 1868. Whereas, in fact, Lady Chesterfield is mentioned more or less fully, some twenty-seven times in his letters ; and see her affectionate letter to his friend Dayrolles after the earl's death.

time in separate houses, appears from the memoirs by Maty, who, although he speaks of Lady Chesterfield's amiability and accomplishments having rendered her a fit companion for Lord Chesterfield, and of her prudent management having helped to retrieve and improve his long-neglected estate, — caused probably by his expensive tastes during his late embassy in Holland, — states that, on changing her condition, she did not leave the Duchess of Kendal; and that Lord Chesterfield, who was their next neighbour in Grosvenor Square, most constantly divided his time between his business in his own house, and his attentions and duties at the other.¹

¹ Maty, p. 71. Walpole, in his MS. notes on this page, says: "After his marriage, he had a long amour with Lady Fanny Shirley, a great beauty, on whom he wrote the well-known song." And see note to letter to Mann, Aug. 4, 1778.

"When Fanny, blooming fair,
First caught my ravish'd sight,
Struck with her shape and air,
I felt a strange delight:
Whilst eagerly I gaz'd,
Admiring every part,
And every feature prais'd,
She stole into my heart.

"In her bewitching eyes
Ten thousand loves appear;
There Cupid basking lies,
His shafts are hoarded there;
Her blooming cheeks are dyed
With colour all their own,

How long this separate arrangement — which may have been due to economical considerations — lasted, is not certain; but probably until the death of the duchess, as may be inferred from a

Excelling far the pride
Of roses newly blown.

“Her well-turned limbs confess
The lucky hand of Jove;
Her features all express
The beauteous Queen of Love:
What flames my nerves invade
When I behold the breast
Of that too charming maid
Rise, suing to be press’d!

“Venus round Fanny’s waist,
Has her own cestus bound,
With guardian Cupids graced,
Who dance the circle round.
How happy must he be
Who shall her zone unloose!
That bliss to all but me
May Heaven and she refuse!”

Some doubt, however, has been thrown upon the authorship, in a note to Lysons’s “*Environs*,” iii. 599, where it is attributed to Thomas Philips, a dramatic writer. See “*Wit and Wisdom of Lord Chesterfield*.”

Pope addressed a poem to Lady Fanny, “On receiving from her a standish and two pens.” And she and Lord Chesterfield are associated in Sir C. H. Williams’s poem, “*Isabella, or the Morning*.”

“Says Lovel — there were Chesterfield and Fanny
In that eternal whisper which begun
Ten years ago, and never will be done,
For though you know he sees her every day
Still he has something ever new to say.

letter of Horace Walpole's, written ten years later: ¹ "The Duchess of Kendal is dead — eighty-five years old; she was a year older than her late king. Her riches were immense; but I believe my Lord Chesterfield will get nothing by her death — but his wife: she lived in the house with the duchess, where he had played away all his credit."

When the destruction of the will of George I., by which it was said that £40,000 had been bequeathed to the Duchess of Kendal, was in question, Walpole says that the legacy was on the brink of coming to open and legal discussion, — "Lord Chesterfield, resenting his own proscription at court, was believed to have instituted, or at least to have threatened a suit for recovery of the legacy to the duchess, to which he was then [1743] become entitled, and it was as confidently believed that he was quieted by the payment of £20,000." ²

He never lets the conversation fall,
And I'm sure Fanny can't keep up the ball.
I saw that her replies were never long,
And with her eyes she answered for her tongue."

Walpole commemorates her death in a letter to Mann, July 16, 1778: "'Fanny, blooming fair,' died here yesterday of a stroke of palsy. Being confined with only servants, she was continually lamenting, 'I to be abandoned that all the world used to adore.' She was seventy-two."

¹ Walpole to Mann, May 12, 1743.

² "Reminiscences," ch. vi., and letter to Cole, October 14, 1778. And in his MS. notes on Maty, pages 70-71, he says:

Of Lady Chesterfield we know very little; but from the manner in which she is mentioned by Lord Chesterfield in his letters, there is no ground whatever for the assertion, nor even for inferring that there was any unhappiness between them.¹

"George II. certainly burnt his father's will, in which were said to be legacies to his daughter the late Queen of Prussia (which I believe her son has often demanded), and a large one to the Duchess of Kendal; to which Lady Chesterfield, as her heiress, had a claim. It was said that in the height of his opposition Lord Chesterfield threatened to commence a suit with the late king for that legacy, and that he was silenced by a composition of £20,000, but this I have only heard, and do not know on good authority. Lady Walsingham was by no means a young lady, as is said in the text, but near forty when she married the earl. It was said that she had been secretly married when very young, before she came to England to her own uncle, Count Schulenberg. She made Lord Chesterfield a most exemplary wife, and he rewarded her very ungratefully."

¹ Writing to Mr. Lyttelton from Bath, Dec. 12, 1737: "I am sorry to tell you, that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you so soon by a week as I proposed, for the waters now agreeing with Lady Chesterfield, which they did not do at first, she desires to stay a week longer."

To his son, in whose education she seems to have taken some interest:

Dec. 20, 1748: "Lady Chesterfield bids me tell you that she decides entirely in your favour, against Mr. Grevenkop, and even against herself; for she does not think that she could, at this time, write either so good a character or so good German."

Aug. 10, 1749: "Lady Chesterfield has just now received your German letter, for which she thanks you; she says the language is very correct," etc.

Oct. 17, 1749: "I will accept of your composition, and content myself with a moderate German letter, once a fortnight, to Lady Chesterfield," etc.

Feb. 22, 1750: "If the Italian of your letter to Lady Ches-

And the ill-opinion, which in his latter years he had formed of connubial felicity, seems to have been founded rather upon his observation of others' domestic affairs than his experience of his own, — but of that hereafter, — and of his own he

terfield was all your own, I am very well satisfied with the progress which you have made in that language in so short a time."

June 6, 1751: "Lady Chesterfield makes you a thousand compliments."

June 20, 1751: "You say that you want some hints for a letter to Lady Chesterfield; more use and knowledge of the world will teach you occasionally to write and talk genteelly, *sur des riens*, which I can tell you is a very useful part of worldly knowledge; for in some companies, it would be imprudent to talk upon anything else, and with very many people it is impossible to talk of anything else; they would not understand you."

July 8, 1751: "You may bring Lady Chesterfield a little Martin snuff-box of about five louis: and you need bring over no other presents — you and I not wanting *les petits présens pour entretenir l'amitié*."

Aug. 4, 1752: "Lady Chesterfield makes you many compliments, and is much concerned at your indisposition."

Feb. 1, 1754: "Lady Chesterfield bids me make you her compliments, and assure you that the music will be much more welcome to her with you than without you."

And three others of "compliments," Feb. 27, 1759; Sept. 3, 1764; and June 13, 1766.

To Madame du Boccage, 14 Juin, 1750: "Madame de Chesterfield me charge de ses complimens pour vous et pour Monsieur du Boccage; permettez que j'y ajoute les miens pour lui."

And again, 26 Nov., 1750: "Madame de Chesterfield, qui vous fait mille complimens, est occupée à lire les livres, que vous m'avez envoyés."

To his friend Dayrolles, July 31, 1751: "Lady Chesterfield would have come, to have waited upon Mrs. Dayrolles, but was prevented by a great cold. Adieu!"

was not a man to be communicative, even to his most intimate friends. "Cautiously avoid talking of either your own or other people's domestic affairs. Yours are nothing to them but tedious; theirs are nothing to you."

During the ensuing nine years, we find Lord Chesterfield engaged in active opposition to the

And again from Blackheath, Sept. 25, 1754: "I shall go to London in November, upon the account of Lady Chesterfield, and even of my servants, who, not having the resources that I have, would be very miserable here in the winter. The difference will be but little to me, it would be great to them, which in my mind makes it a social duty."

And on two other occasions, of Lady Chesterfield's compliments to Mrs. Dayrolles & Co., July 10, 1755, and July 4, 1757.

To Doctor Monsey, from Bath, Dec. 27, 1766: "Lady Chesterfield, who sends you her compliments, has had a very bad accident by a fall, and has sprained her foot, by which I am crippled here some time longer."

To the Bishop of Waterford, May 22, 1752: "Lady Chesterfield sends her compliments to you and Mrs. Chenevix, at whose illness she is much concerned. She has sent you from Bristol a busto of your humble servant, cast from a marble one done by Mr. Hoare, at Bath, for Mr. Adderly; it is generally thought very like. Adieu, my dear lord."

Again from Bath, Nov. 21, 1769: "Lady Chesterfield, who charges me with her compliments to you, has been very much out of order here, of a disorder in her stomach and bowels; but is now so much better that we shall set out for London in a couple of days."

And on five other occasions of Lady Chesterfield's "service and esteem," "compliments," etc., Dec. 9, 1759; Oct. 1, 1764; Oct. 30, 1768; March 11, 1770; and June 14, 1770.

I have yet to learn that more than the above is usual in the ordinary correspondence of persons of condition when mentioning their wives.

court, or rather to the minister, whom he lost no opportunity of attacking, sometimes seriously, but more often with wit and sarcasm, until Sir Robert Walpole was at last "hunted from his places" in 1742.

In the course of this struggle of parties, Maty tells the following anecdote as a curious illustration of the means resorted to for obtaining votes :¹

"The late Lord R——,² with many good qualities, and even learning and parts, had a strong desire of being thought skilful in physic, and was very expert in bleeding. Lord Chesterfield, who knew his foible, and on a particular occasion wished to have his vote, came to him one morning, and, after having conversed upon indifferent matters, complained of the headache, and desired his lordship to feel his pulse. It was found to beat high, and a hint of losing blood given. 'I have no objection, and as I hear your lordship has a masterly hand, will you favour me with trying your lancet upon me? Apropos,' said Lord Chesterfield, after the operation, 'do you go to the House to-day?' Lord R—— answered, 'I did not intend to go, not being sufficiently informed of the question which is to be debated; but you who have considered it, which side will you be of?'

¹ Maty, p. 297.

² "Raymond, who was thence called *Mon Saigneur*." — *Walpole's MS. note*.

The earl, having gained his confidence, easily directed his judgment; he carried him to the House, and got him to vote as he pleased. He used afterward to say, that none of his friends had done as much as he, having literally bled for the good of his country."

In a debate on February 13th, on the Duke of Marlborough's motion for a bill against depriving officers of the army of their commissions otherwise than by judgment of a court martial, or by address of either House of Parliament, Lord Chesterfield supported it as not only a good but a necessary bill, contending that it was neither an attack upon the prerogative, nor so much as a diminution of the power of the Crown; that there was no power to be taken from the Crown but such as the Crown ought never to make use of; that the Crown ought never to take an officer's commission from him but for some very sufficient reason, and upon full proof of the facts alleged against him; that it was to prevent the king's being maliciously led into the doing injustice to a faithful soldier, and to prevent a good and brave officer being whispered out of his commission for no crime, perhaps for behaviour for which he ought to be highly rewarded. . . . That all that was proposed was that no minister should thereafter have it in his power to tell an officer of the army in a case that perhaps no way regarded military discipline: "Sir, you shall do

so or so—or starve;” that as to the two noble lords who had been removed without a sufficient cause, it must have proceeded from some misrepresentations, or some private and malicious accusation which the king had not yet discovered to be false. . . . That this bill was the same as that drawn up in the last reign by as able and honest a minister as ever served the Crown,¹ who had the happiness of his country so much at heart, that he had neglected his own, and had left little else to his son but the honour of having a seat among their lordships.²

There ensued a debate on a motion by Lord Carteret to address the king to know who advised the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their regiments, in which Lord Chesterfield’s name does not appear; but only in the protest, on the motion being lost.

On March 28th, a message from the king to be empowered to augment his forces by sea and land during the recess of Parliament met with considerable opposition. Lord Chesterfield spoke strongly against it, contending that it was the most extraordinary demand that was ever made upon any Parliament; that though it might be necessary for the support of ministerial schemes, and perhaps for the safety of ministerial personages, it ought not to be complied with, especially

¹ Earl Stanhope.

² 9 “Parl. Hist.,” pp. 329 *et seq.*

if it appeared inconsistent with the Constitution, or contrary to the usual form of proceeding in Parliament; that coming as it did at the end of the last session of a long Parliament, it appeared to him in the same light as if an application should be made to a man on his death-bed, to bequeath all he has in the world to those who are utter strangers to him, nay, to those who have been generally reputed his greatest enemies; that nothing could excuse such an extraordinary step but an immediate danger of a powerful invasion from abroad, or a terrible insurrection at home; and while admitting what was urged by Lord Hardwicke, that in such cases the Crown had the power to provide for the protection of the country, he maintained that asking for it beforehand looked suspicious, sarcastically comparing it to the case of an infant of a good estate being allowed whatever may be necessary for his subsistence: "for this he has no great occasion for any letter of credit from his guardians, but if these should be such fools, or such unfaithful guardians, as to give him an unlimited letter of credit for borrowing whatever he himself might think necessary for his subsistence, it would certainly tend to throw him into extravagance, and make him a prey for usurers and extortioners."¹

A motion had been made by the Duke of Bed-

¹ Maty, p. 76; 9 "Parl. Hist.," p. 531; Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," v. p. 34.

ford on March 18th, "that any persons taking upon them to engage any peers of Scotland to vote for any peer or list of peers to represent the peerage of Scotland in Parliament is an encroachment on the freedom of elections,"¹ in which motion Lord Chesterfield had joined; and from his letters subsequently to the Earl of Marchmont, it appears to have been alleged that the elections of the Scotch representative peers had been brought about by the corrupting influence of the Earl of Islay, who had managed those elections for Sir Robert Walpole.²

¹ 9 "Parl. Hist.," p. 487. The motion was not carried, and Lord Chesterfield joined in the protest.

² Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay, afterward, by the death of his brother in 1743, Duke of Argyle. The following epigram relates to his celebrated gardens at Whitton, near Hounslow; and though included in Lord Chesterfield's poems in the quarto supplement, 1778, it first appeared in Walpole's letter to Mann, June 3, 1742. Walpole, in a note to that letter, says: "These lines were written by Bramston, author of 'The Art of Politics,' and 'The Man of Taste.'" — *Walpole's Letters*, edit. Cunningham, vol. i. pp. 135, 163, 172.

"Old Islay, to show his fine delicate taste
 In improving his gardens purloin'd from the waste,
 Bid his gard'ner one day to open his views,
 By cutting a couple of grand avenues.
 No particular prospect his lordship intended,
 But left it to chance how his walks should be ended.
 With transports of joy he beheld at one view-end,
 His favourite prospect, a church that was ruin'd!
 But alas! what a sight did the next view exhibit!
 At the end of the walk hung a rogue on a gibbet!

In Lord Chesterfield's letter on the subject to Lord Marchmont, on June 15th, is the following passage characteristic of the times :

"I should think it might be very possible to get some of the lowest of your venal peers to come to our bar and confess the money they took to vote for the court list, which, if it could be obtained, would be such strong evidence, as would be hard to be resisted. . . . If that were possible, it would be worth while to make them lusty promises, and even to give them some little money in present ; for two witnesses who have actually taken money and voted for it, are worth ten who have only been offered and refused it.

"You will likewise receive from other hands a thought that occurred to Pulteney, and which Carteret and I approved of, and which I am so fond of, that I cannot help mentioning it to you, however ; it is, that some Scotch commoner, well armed with facts and proofs, should get up in the House of Commons and impeach Islay of high crimes and misdemeanours, which no doubt the corrupt influencing of elections amounts to. This would be a capital stroke, and affect the master as well as the man, and I should think exceeding

He beheld it and wept, for it caused him to muse on
Full many a Campbell that died with his shoes on.
All amaz'd and aghast at the ominous scene,
He ordered it quick to be clos'd up again,
With a clump of Scotch firs by way of a screen !"

practicable, considering the open and impudent proceeding of that worthy lord." ¹

I find no record of Lord Chesterfield's doings in 1735, except that his name occurs in a debate on a bill for quartering soldiers at elections, on April 15th; nor are there any letters till nearly two years afterward.

On the opening of the session, January 15th, Lord Chesterfield took part in the debate on the address of thanks to the king, and spoke in support of an amendment to the motion in respect of "the happy effects of the extraordinary supplies of late years granted by Parliament," but his speech is not given. ²

He contributed, at this time, some satirical papers to the periodical publications of the day, in which he ridiculed the useless "augmentation of the forces," and their harmless disposition, by suggesting in their place the scheme of a wax army moving by clockwork. ³ The following extract must suffice: After some humourous comments upon the German principalities, "I ask but two postulata, which, I think, cannot be denied me; and then my proposal demonstrates its own

¹ "Marchmont Papers," vol. ii. p. 23. Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 334.

² "Parl. Hist.," p. 985.

³ *Fog's Journal*, one of the weekly publications against Sir Robert Walpole's administration. It was first, from the printer's name, entitled *Mist's Journal*, and was afterward continued under the punning title of *Fog's*.

utility. First, that for these last five and twenty years our land forces have been of no use whatsoever, nor even employed, notwithstanding the almost uninterrupted disturbances that have been in Europe, in which our interests have been as nearly concerned as ever they are likely to be for these five and twenty years to come. Secondly that our present army is a very great expense to the nation, and has raised jealousies and discontents in the minds of many of his Majesty's subjects. I therefore humbly propose that, from and after the 25th day of March next, 1736, the present numerous and expensive army be totally disbanded, the commission officers excepted, and that proper persons be authorised to contract with Mrs. Salmon¹ for raising the same number of men in the best of wax. That the said persons be likewise authorised to treat with that ingenious mechanic, Myn Heer von Pinchbeck,² for the clockwork necessary for the said number of land forces. It appears from my first postulatam, that this future

¹ Mrs. Salmon's waxwork exhibition, celebrated by Addison, was shown at a house distinguished by the sign of the Salmon near the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street. "It would have been ridiculous for the ingenious Mrs. Salmon to have lived at the sign of the Trout; for which reason she has erected before her house the figure of the fish that is her namesake." — *Spectator*, No. 28. "The tent of Darius is to be peopled by the ingenious Mrs. Salmon, where Alexander is to fall in love with a piece of waxwork that represents the beautiful Statira." — *Spectator*, No. 31.

² A famous musical clockmaker in Fleet Street.

army will be, to all intents and purposes, as useful as ever our present one has been ; and how much more beneficial it will be is what I now beg leave to show. The curious are often at great trouble and expense to make imitations of things, which things are to be had easier, cheaper, and in greater perfection themselves. Thus infinite pains have been taken of late, but alas ! in vain, to bring up our present army to the nicety and perfection of a waxen one : it has proved impossible to get such numbers of men, all of the same height, the same make, with their own hair, timing exactly together the several motions of their exercise, and above all, with a certain military fierceness that is not natural to British countenances : even some very considerable officers have been cashiered for wanting some of the properties of wax.”¹

Two other papers in *Fog's Journal* are attributed to Lord Chesterfield. In the one which most displays his style of wit and humour, “An Essay upon Ears,” he founds some political and social allusions upon a fanciful practice in China of the delight administered by tickling the ears ; and after telling of the difficulty experienced by the emperor in finding a suitable tickler : “In this public distress, and while majesty laboured under the privation of auricular joys, the empress, who

¹ *Fog's Journal*, January 17th. “An Army in Waxwork.” The allusion here is to the dismissal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham for their opposition to the excise scheme.

by long acquaintance and frequent little trials, judged pretty well of the texture of the royal ear, resolved to undertake it, and succeeded perfectly, by means of a much stronger friction than others durst either attempt, or could imagine would please.

"In the meantime, the skilful mandarin, far from being discouraged by the ill success he had sometimes met with in his attempts upon the emperor's ears, resolved to make himself amends upon his imperial consort's: he tried, and he prevailed; he tickled her Majesty's ear to such perfection, that, as the emperor would trust his ear to none but the empress, she would trust hers to none but this light-fingered mandarin, who by these means attained to unbounded and uncontrolled power, and governed ear by ear.

"But, as all the mandarins have their ear-ticklers too, with the same degree of influence over them, and as this mandarin was particularly remarkable for his extreme sensibility in those parts, it is hard to say from what original titillation the imperial power now flows."¹

The essay then goes on to show the analogy between the Chinese and ourselves in respect of ear-tickling.

¹ By the emperor, empress, and mandarin, must of course be understood George II., Queen Caroline, and Sir Robert Walpole; and the influence respectively exercised by the queen with the king, by the minister with the queen, and by the subordinates with the minister.

"Flattery is, of all methods, the surest to produce that vibration of the air, which affects the auditory nerves with the most exquisite titillation; and according to the thinner or thicker texture of those organs, the flattery must be more or less strong. This is the immediate province of the private tickler, and his great skill consists in tuning his flattery to the ear of his patient; it were endless to give instances of the influence and advantages of those artists who excel in this way.

"The business of a public tickler is to modulate his voice, dispose his matter, and enforce his arguments in such a manner as to excite a pleasing sensation in the ears of a number or assembly of people; this is the most difficult branch of the profession, and that in which the fewest excel, but to the few who do, it is the most lucrative, and the most considerable."

Respecting the influence and importance of the ear:

"To have the ear of one's prince is understood by everybody to mean having a good share of his authority, if not the whole, which plainly hints how that influence is acquired. To have the ear of the first minister is the next, if not an equal advantage. I am therefore not surprised that so considerable a possession should be so frequently attempted, and so eagerly solicited, as we may always observe it is. . . . To give ear to a person

implies giving credit, being convinced, and being guided by that person ; all this by the success of his endeavours upon that prevailing organ.

“To lend an ear is something less, but still intimates a willingness and tendency in the lender to be prevailed upon by a little more tickling of that part. Thus the lending of an ear is a sure presage of success to a skilful tickler. For example, a person who lends an ear to a minister seldom fails of putting them both in his power soon afterward ; and when a fine woman lends an ear to a lover, she shows a disposition at least to further and future titillation.

“There cannot be a stronger instance of the great value that has always been set upon these parts than the constant manner of expressing the utmost and most ardent desire people can have for anything by saying they would ‘give their ears’ for it ; a price so great that it is seldom either paid or required. Witness the numbers of people actually wearing their ears still, who in justice have long since forfeited them.’

“Over head and ears would be a manifest *pleonasmus*, the head being higher than the ears, were not the ears reckoned so much more valuable than

¹ Is it necessary to say that these allusions to the loss of the ears refer to the barbarous punishment of the pillory, and the cropping of the ears for libellous publications? See “The Dunciad,” Book II., and the notes of Pope and his editors thereto.

all the rest of the head, as to make it a true climax. The anatomists have discovered that there is an intimate correspondence between the palm of the hand and the ear, and that a previous application to the hand communicates itself instantly by the force and velocity of attraction to the ear, and agreeably prepares that part to receive and admit of titillation. I must say, too, that I have known this practised with success upon very considerable persons of both sexes.

“ Having thus demonstrated, by many instances, that the ear is the most material part in the whole mechanism of our structures, and that it is both the seat and source of honour, power, pleasure, and pain, I cannot conclude without an earnest exhortation to all my country-folks, of whatsoever rank or sex, to take utmost care of their ears. Guard your ears, O ye princes, for your power is lodged in your ears. Guard your ears, ye nobles, for your honour lies in your ears. Guard your ears, ye fair, if you would guard your virtue. And guard your ears, all my fellow subjects, if you would guard your liberties and properties.”¹

In the next paper, “An Essay upon Eyes,” the political and social allusions are more obscure, and are not illuminated by much wit or humour; and the writer, after dwelling upon the various artificial aids to sight which only perplex or obscure the vision, concludes by exhorting princes to view

¹ *Fog's Journal*, January 24, 1736.

their subjects, and subjects to view their princes, with their natural sight :

“In short, let the natural retrieve their credit, and resume their power ; we shall then see things as they really are, which must end in the confusion of those whose hopes and interests are founded upon misrepresentations and deceit.”¹

The great licentiousness of the stage which prevailed at this time made some restraint and regulation necessary : a farce entitled the “Golden Rump” having been brought to Sir Robert Walpole by the manager of the theatre in Lincoln’s Inn Fields, with the view either of obtaining his advice respecting it or a sum of money to prevent its representation, — but which is not certain, — the minister paid the profits which might have accrued from it, and detained the copy. Having made extracts of the worst passages, abounding in profaneness, sedition, and blasphemy, he brought in a bill entitled, “A bill to explain and amend so much of an act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of Queen Anne, etc., as relates to the common players of interludes.” During its progress through the House, some amendments were made, and two clauses added. The only one now material empowered the lord chamberlain to prohibit the representation of any theatrical performances, and compelled all persons to send copies to him of any new plays, parts added to old plays, pro-

¹ *Fog’s Journal*, April 10, 1736.

logues and epilogues, fourteen days before they were acted, and not to perform them under forfeiture of £50, and of the license of the house. The bill was brought in on the 20th May, and passed through both Houses with such despatch that it was ready for the royal assent on the 8th June, and passed into law on the 21st.¹

Although it has been said that the bill was vigorously opposed, there is no trace of any speech against it, except the one by Lord Chesterfield on June 2d, from which, on account of its celebrity, I give the following extracts:

“MY LORDS:—The bill now before you I apprehend to be of a very extraordinary, a very dangerous, nature. It seems designed not only as a restraint on the licentiousness of the stage, but it will prove a most arbitrary restraint on the liberty of the stage, and I fear it looks yet further, I fear

¹ Maty, pp. 82–83; Smollett, ii. p. 572, who says of the bill that it was an effort of the minister “obliquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was much his interest to abridge;” and of Lord Chesterfield’s speech, that it “will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country.”

10 “Parl. Hist.,” pp. 319, 328; Coxe’s “Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole” for a full account of the origin and progress of the bill; and Lord Hervey’s “Memoirs,” ii. p. 341.

The act was the 10 Geo. II. c. 28. It was repealed by the 6 and 7 Vict. c. 68, an act for regulating theatres, and the section requiring new plays, etc., to be submitted to the lord chamberlain was reënacted by S. 12, with the substitution of seven days for fourteen.

it tends toward a restraint on the liberty of the press, which will be a long stride toward the destruction of liberty itself. It is not only a bill, my lords, of a very extraordinary nature, but it has been brought in at a very extraordinary season, and pushed with most extraordinary despatch. . . . I have made all possible inquiry; and, as yet, I must confess I am at a loss to find out the great occasion. I have, it is true, learned from common report without doors that a most seditious, a most heinous, farce had been offered to one of the theatres, a farce for which the authors ought to be punished in a most exemplary manner; but what was the consequence? The master of that theatre behaved as he was in duty bound, and as common prudence directed: he not only refused to bring it upon the stage, but carried it to a certain honourable gentleman in the administration, as the surest method of having it absolutely suppressed. Could this be the occasion of introducing such an extraordinary bill, at such an extraordinary season, and pushing it in so extraordinary a manner? Surely no. The dutiful behaviour of the players, the prudent caution they showed upon that occasion, can never be a reason for subjecting them to such an arbitrary restraint; it is an argument in their favour; and a material one, in my opinion, against the bill. Nay, further, if we consider all circumstances, it is to me a full proof that the laws

now in being are sufficient for punishing those players who shall venture to bring any seditious libel upon the stage, and consequently sufficient for deterring all the players from acting anything that may have the least tendency toward giving a reasonable offence. . . . I must own, indeed, I have observed of late a remarkable licentiousness in the stage. There have but very lately been two plays acted, which one would have thought should have given the greatest offence; and yet both were suffered to be often represented without disturbance, without censure. In one¹ the author thought fit to represent the three great professions, religion, physic, and law, as inconsistent with common sense; in the other,² a most tragical story was brought on the stage, a catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a nature to be heard of anywhere but

¹ "Pasquin, a Dramatic Satire on the Times, being the rehearsal of two plays: a comedy called 'The Election,' and a tragedy called 'The Life and Death of Common Sense.'" First acted in April, 1736. — *Fielding's Works* vol. iii. It contains some strokes at bribery, the excise, and the wax army in *Fog's Journal*; but, reading it at this distance of time, there seems but little "offence in't." See a full account of it in Genest's "History of the Stage," vol. iii. p. 485.

² "King Charles 1st, a Tragedy," first performed March 1, 1737, at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre. "This is not a bad play; the great fault of it is want of incident, — the deviations from history, as they chiefly relate to the domestic concerns of the king, are not very exceptionable even in so well-known a story." — *History of the Stage*, vol. iii. 513.

from the pulpit. How these pieces came to pass unpunished, I do not know; if I am rightly informed, it was not for want of law, but for want of prosecution, without which no law can be made effectual; but if there was any neglect in this case, I am convinced it was not with a design to prepare the minds of the people, and to make them think a new law necessary.

“Our stage ought certainly, my lords, to be kept within due bounds; but for this our laws, as they stand at present, are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted, they may be punished: we have precedents, we have examples of persons having been punished for things less criminal than either of the two pieces I have mentioned. A new law must therefore be unnecessary, and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous: every unnecessary restraint on licentiousness is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands, of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people, my lords, can enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty; it is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, a trembling, hand, lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear.

If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open, the law is sufficient for punishing the offender; and in this case the person injured has a singular advantage, he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publisher: the players themselves are the publishers, and there can be no want of evidence to convict them. . . . There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one without dangerously wounding the other; it is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them; like a changeable silk, we can easily see there are two different colours, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins. There can be no great and immediate danger from the licentiousness of the stage. I hope it will not be pretended that our government may, before next winter, be overturned by such licentiousness, even though our stage were at present under no sort of control. Why, then, may we not delay till next session passing any law against the licentiousness of the stage? Neither our government can be altered, nor our Constitution overturned by such a delay; but, by passing a law rashly and unadvisedly, our Constitution may at once be destroyed, and our government rendered arbitrary. Can we put then a small, a short-lived, inconvenience in the balance

with perpetual slavery? Can it be supposed, that a Parliament of Great Britain will so much as risk the latter, for the sake of avoiding the former?

“Surely, my lords, this is not to be expected were the licentiousness of the stage much greater than it is, were the insufficiency of our laws more obvious than can be pretended; but when we complain of the licentiousness of the stage and the insufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reason to complain of bad measures in our polity and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people. In public as well as private life the only way to prevent being ridiculed or censured is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked measures, and to pursue such only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule those they love and esteem, nor will they suffer them to be ridiculed. If any one attempts it, the ridicule returns upon the author; he makes himself only the object of public hatred and contempt. The actions or behaviour of a private man may pass unobserved, and, consequently, unapplauded, uncensured; but the actions of those in high stations can neither pass without notice nor without censure or applause; and, therefore, an administration without esteem, without authority among the people, let their power be never so great, let their power be never so arbitrary, will be ridiculed; the severest edicts, the most terrible punishment, cannot prevent it. If any man, therefore, thinks

he has been censured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, he will find the cause; let him alter his conduct, he will find a remedy. As no man is perfect, as no man is infallible, the greatest may err, the most circumspect may be guilty of some piece of ridiculous behaviour. It is not licentiousness; it is an useful liberty always indulged the stage in a free country that some great men may there meet with a just reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather, faithful enough, to give them. . . . When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people, when public measures are despised, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be, designed as a satire on the present times; nay, even though the people should not apply, those who are conscious of the wickedness or weakness of their conduct will take to themselves what the author never designed. A public thief is as apt to take the satire as he is apt to take the money which was never designed for him. We have an instance of this in the case of a famous comedian of the last age; a comedian who was not only a good poet, but an honest man and a quiet and good subject. The famous Molière, when he wrote his 'Tartuffe,' which is certainly an excellent and a good moral comedy, did not design to satirise any great man of that age; yet a great man in France at that time took it to him-

self, and fancied the author had taken him as a model for one of the principal and one of the worst characters in that comedy. By good luck he was not the licenser, otherwise the kingdom of France had never had the pleasure, the happiness, I may say, of seeing that play acted ; but when the players first purposed to act it at Paris, he had interest enough to get it forbid. Molière, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron, the Prince of Conti, that, as his play was designed only to expose hypocrisy and a false pretence to religion, it was very hard it should be forbid being acted, when at the same time they were suffered to expose religion itself every night publicly upon the Italian stage. To which the prince wittily answered, ‘It is true, Molière, Harlequin ridicules heaven and exposes religion ; but you have done much worse, — you have ridiculed the first minister of religion.’

“I am as much for restraining the licentiousness of the stage and every sort of licentiousness as any of your lordships can be ; but, my lords, I am, I shall always be, extremely cautious and fearful of making the least encroachment upon liberty ; and, therefore, when a new law is proposed against licentiousness, I shall always be for considering it deliberately and maturely before I venture to give my consent to its being passed. . . .

“But suppose, my lords, it were necessary to

make a new law for restraining the licentiousness of the stage, which I am very far from granting ; yet I shall never be for establishing such a power as is proposed by this bill. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country ; if they offend, let them be tried, as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of one single man to judge and determine, without any limitation, without any control or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsistent with our Constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute, power than we trust even to the king himself ; and, therefore, I must think we ought not to vest any such power in his Majesty's lord chamberlain. When I say this I am sure I do not mean to give the least, the most distant, offence to the noble duke,¹ who now fills the post of lord chamberlain ; his natural candour and love of justice would not, I know, permit him to exercise any power but with the strictest regard to the rules of justice and humanity. Were we sure his successors in that high office would always be persons of such distinguished merit, even the power established by this bill could give no further alarm than lest it should be made a precedent

¹ Charles Fitzroy, second Duke of Grafton, born 1683, and lord chamberlain since 1727.

for introducing other new powers of the same nature. This, indeed, is an alarm which cannot be avoided, which cannot be prevented by any hope, by any consideration; it is an alarm which, I think, every man must take who has a due regard to the constitution and liberties of his country. . . .

“My lords, the proper business of the stage, and that for which only it is useful, is to expose those vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of; and to recommend those beauties and virtues, which ministers and courtiers seldom either imitate or reward. But by laying it under a license, and under an arbitrary court license, too, you will, in my opinion, entirely pervert its use; for though I have the greatest esteem for that noble duke, in whose hands this power is at present designed to fall, though I have an entire confidence in his judgment and impartiality, yet I may suppose that a leaning toward the fashions of a court is sometimes hard to be avoided. It may be very difficult to make one, who is every day at court, believe that to be a vice or folly, which he sees daily practised by those he loves and esteems. By custom even deformity itself becomes familiar and at last agreeable. To such a person, let his natural impartiality be never so great, that may appear to be a libel against the court, which is only a most just and a most necessary satire upon the fashionable vices and follies of the court. Courtiers, my lords, are too polite to reprove one

another; the only place where they can meet with any just reproof, is a free though not a licentious stage; and as every sort of vice and folly, generally in all countries, begins at court and from thence spreads through the country, by laying the stage under an arbitrary court license, instead of leaving it what it is and always ought to be, a gentle scourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices and follies through the whole kingdom.

“From hence, my lords, I think it must appear that the bill now before us cannot so properly be called a bill for restraining licentiousness, as it may be called a bill for restraining the liberty of the stage, and for restraining it, too, in that branch which, in all countries, has been the most useful; therefore I must look upon this bill as a most dangerous encroachment upon liberty in general. Nay, further, my lords, it is not only an encroachment upon liberty, but it is likewise an encroachment upon property. Wit, my lords, is a sort of property; it is the property of those who have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. It is, indeed, but a precarious dependence. Thank God! we, my lords, have a dependence of another kind; we have a much less precarious support, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniences of the bill now before us; but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, whosoever’s

property it may be. Those gentlemen who have any such property, are all, I hope, our friends. Do not let us subject them to any unnecessary or arbitrary restraint. I must own, I cannot easily agree to the laying of any tax upon wit; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed, it is to be excised; for, if this bill passes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way without a permit, and the lord chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief gauger, supervisor, commissioner, judge, and jury. But what is still more hard, though the poor author, the proprietor I should say, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed with a purchaser, yet, before he can propose to seek for a purchaser, he must patiently submit to have his goods rummaged at this new excise office, where they may be detained for fourteen days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited goods, by which his chief and best market will be for ever shut against him, and that without any cause, without the least shadow of reason, either from the laws of his country, or the laws of the stage.

“These hardships, this hazard, which every gentleman will be exposed to who writes anything for the stage, must certainly prevent every man of a generous and free spirit from attempting anything in that way; and, as the stage has always been the proper channel for wit and humour, therefore, my lords, when I speak against this

bill, I must think, I plead the cause of wit, I plead the cause of humour, I plead the cause of the British stage, and of every gentleman of taste in the kingdom. . . .

“The last reason I shall trouble your lordships with, for my being against the bill, is that, in my opinion, it will in no way answer the end proposed. I mean the end openly proposed; and I am sure the only end which your lordships propose. To prevent the acting of a play which has any tendency to blasphemy, immorality, sedition, or private scandal, can signify nothing, unless you can prevent its being printed and published. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed, you will propagate the mischief; your prohibition will prove a bellows, which will blow up the fire you intend to extinguish. This bill can therefore be of no use for preventing either the public or the private injury intended by such a play; and consequently can be of no manner of use, unless it be designed as a precedent, as a leading step toward another for subjecting the press likewise to a licenser. For such a wicked purpose it may indeed be of great use; and in that light it may most properly be called, a step toward arbitrary power.

“Let us consider, my lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the

people should perceive its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked up one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hoodwinking, one after another, those sentries who are posted by the constitution of a free country, for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then, indeed, with great regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their land, but it will be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin. The stage, my lords, and the press, are two of our outsentries; if we remove them, if we hoodwink them, — if we throw them in fetters, the enemy may surprise us. Therefore I must look upon the bill now before us as a step, and a most necessary step, too, for introducing arbitrary power into this kingdom; it is a step so necessary, that if ever any future ambitious king, or guilty minister, should form to himself so wicked a design, he will have reason to thank us, for having done so much of the work to his hand; but such thanks, or thanks from such a man, I am convinced, every one of your lordships would blush to receive, and scorn to deserve."

Immediately afterward a paper appeared in *Common Sense*, attributed to Lord Chesterfield, in which the same arguments are repeated.¹

¹ *Common Sense*, June 4, 1737. "Chesterfield's Works," edit. Mahon, vol. v. "This paper of June 4th was not written by

Of the speech, Lord Hervey says: "In the House of Commons little opposition was made to this bill by anybody of note but Mr. Pulteney, nor in the House of Lords but by Lord Chesterfield, who made one of the most lively and ingenious speeches against it I ever heard in Parliament, full of wit, of the genteelest satire, and in the most polished, classical style that the Petronius of any time ever wrote: it was extremely studied, seemingly easy, well delivered, and universally admired. On such occasions nobody spoke better than Lord Chesterfield; but as he never could, or at least never did, speak but prepared, and from dissertations he had written down in his closet and got by heart, he never made any figure in a reply, nor was his manner of speaking like debating, but declaiming." ¹

Lord Chesterfield, and is not worthy of him." — *Walpole's MS. notes on Maty.*

¹ Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii. p. 341. And Pope has immortalised it in "The Dunciad:"

"But held in ten-fold bonds the Muses lie,
 Watch'd both by Envy's and by Flatt'ry's eye:
 There to her heart sad Tragedy address
 The dagger wont to pierce the Tyrant's breast;
 But sober History restrain'd her rage,
 And promis'd Vengeance on a barb'rous age.
 There sunk Thalia, nerveless, cold, and dead,
 Had not her sister Satire held her head:
 Nor could'st thou, Chesterfield! a tear refuse,
 Thou wept'st, and with thee wept each gentle muse."

— Book IV. v. 35, *et seq.*

And Cibber mentions the "lively spirit and uncommon eloquence employed against" the law. — *Apology for his Life*, ch. viii.

I must now go back a little to state in their order some particulars of the royal family which are material to this narrative. The animosity of the king, and still more of the queen, toward the Prince of Wales, — the origin of which has never been satisfactorily explained, — was slightly softened at the time that the prince's marriage with the Princess Augusta of Saxe Gotha was in contemplation; the marriage took place on the 27th April, 1736, but it did not restore union to the royal family; and even the speeches in Parliament on the address to the king, being more complimentary to the prince than to his Majesty, served rather to inflame the king's anger against him.¹ "Upon the prince's marriage the king increased his allowance from £24,000 to £50,000 a year, which the prince said was robbing him of £50,000, as the Parliament, when it gave the civil list at the king's accession, designed him £100,000, which the king had had in the former reign, when he was Prince of Wales; and most people were of the same opinion."

"The breach between these two parts of the family grew wider every day; and this circumstance of the £100,000, as it was one of the principal causes of their disagreement,² and indeed the

¹ For full details of the unseemly quarrels between the king and queen and the prince, and their ill language concerning him, see Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," vol. ii. *passim*. And Walpole's "Memoires of George II.," vol. i. p. 63.

² Another cause was the dispute between the queen and the

most material point in dispute between them, it was not likely the breach would ever be healed, as the one would never cease to think the withholding half of this income a wrong done to him, and the other would never be prevailed upon, right or wrong, to give it."¹

Nor was the breach ever healed, the prince persisting, contrary to the best advice, in his claim to a permanent allowance of £100,000 out of the civil list; motions were made on the part of the opposition in both Houses in the ensuing February, 1737, to that effect, but without success. Lord Chesterfield's name does not appear in the debate; but on the failure of the motion in the House of Lords, the protest, said to have been drawn up by the earl, was signed by him and thirteen other lords.²

The last paragraph of the protest is as follows:

prince about Lady Archibald Hamilton's being one of the ladies of the bedchamber, which the prince much insisted upon. She had been his mistress, and subsequently so filled his little court with her relations, that Sir William Stanhope, the witty brother of Lord Chesterfield, "one day at Carleton House, went up to every person he did not know, and said, 'Your servant, Mr. Hamilton; your servant, Mrs. Hamilton!'" For which Sir William "had a hint that his company was not quite agreeable."—*Lord Hervey*, ii. 119; *Walpole to Mann, January 7, 1741*; and *MS. notes on Maty*. Also "Memoires of George II.," vol. i. p. 65.

¹ Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii. p. 120.

² Maty, p. 84; 9 "Parl. Hist.," 1450; Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," vol. ii. pp. 54, 118, 249; Bubb Dodington's "Narrative, Appendix to his Diary."

"We thought it more incumbent upon us to insist upon this motion, for the sake of this royal family under which alone we are fully convinced we can live free, and under the royal family we are fully determined we will live free."¹

But at last the breach between the king and his son became an open rupture in consequence of the prince's conduct in hurrying the princess from Hampton Court to St. James's at the end of July, a few hours only before her confinement.²

After some fruitless attempts to make up the quarrel, the king sent a message in writing to the prince, on the 10th September, in which he said, "It is my pleasure that you leave St. James's with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess." And accordingly the prince removed on the 12th with his family to Kew, and afterward took the Duke of Norfolk's house in St. James's Square for his town dwelling.³

Soon after this separation in the royal family, the queen was taken seriously ill, and rapidly grew

¹ Lord Hervey mentions "its having been remarked that the words at the end prevented its being signed by any Tories in the division; they not caring to declare it their opinion that under this royal family only they could live free." — *Memoirs*, ii. p. 288.

² Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," II. ch. xxxiii.; Walpole's "Reminiscences of the Courts of George I. and II.," ch. vii.; "Memoires of George II.," vol. i. p. 64.

³ Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii. pp. 433, 442, 464.

worse and worse ; but so severe and lasting was the king's anger, that the prince was not admitted to the presence of his mother even in her last moments.¹ She died on the 20th November, of a complaint which she had long concealed, "in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue."²

Lord Hervey's account of an incident shortly before the queen's death is too curious not to be repeated. The queen wished that the king should marry again, "and gave it now as her advice to him when she was dying ; upon which his sobs began to rise and his tears to fall with double vehemence. Whilst in the midst of this passion, wiping his

¹ Maty, p. 85 ; ² Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii. p. 500 ; and hence Pope's ironical praise :

"Or teach the melancholy Muse to mourn,
Hang the sad verse on Carolina's urn,
And hail her passage to the realms of rest,
All parts performed, and all her children blest."

— *Epilogue to the Satires.*

² Smollett, iii. p. 5. Lord Hervey attributes the queen's concealment of her complaint — a rupture — to her fear of losing her power over the king ; "and as her power over him was the principal object of her pursuit, she feared, very reasonably, the loss or the weakening of any tie by which she held him." — *Memoirs*, ii. p. 507.

¹ Maty's words are : "The king was made to resent a trifling neglect of his son," etc. Upon which Walpole remarks : "A trifling neglect ! Was taking the princess from Hampton Court to St. James's, when in actual labour, without acquainting king or queen, a trifling neglect ! The queen was inclined to see him, but thinking that would more embarrass the king, she forbore, but sent the prince word she forgave him." — *Walpole's MS. notes on Maty.*

eyes, and sobbing between every word, with much ado he got out this answer: '*Non, j'aurai des maîtresses.*' To which the queen made no other reply than, '*Ah, mon Dieu! cela n'empêche pas.*' I know this episode will hardly be credited, but it is literally true."¹

The result of these royal disputes was that the prince had joined the opposition, of which several members met at Bath in the autumn of this year, to concert measures against the government. Lord Chesterfield, writing from that place on November 12th, to Mr. Lyttelton,² while the queen's condition was still doubtful, says: "As I suppose the queen will be dead or out of danger before you receive this, any advice to his Royal Highness will come full late, but in all events it is my opinion that he cannot take too many and too respectful measures toward the queen if alive,

¹ "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 514.

² George Lyttelton, son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, born in 1709, entered Parliament in 1735, and distinguished himself among the most violent opponents of Sir R. Walpole. When the Prince of Wales was driven from St. James's, Lyttelton became his secretary, and after the fall of the minister he was made one of the lords of the treasury, and subsequently chancellor of the exchequer; but losing his appointment in 1757, he was recompensed with a peerage, "and rested from political turbulence in the House of Lords." He died in 1773. He wrote a number of poems, and a "History of Henry the Second." Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," edit. Cunningham, iii. 391; and for further particulars, "Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Lyttelton," by Robert Phillimore.

and toward the king, if she is dead ; but then that respect should be absolutely personal, and care should be taken that the ministers should not have the least share of it. . . . In case the queen dies, I think Walpole should be looked upon as gone too, whether he be really so or no, which will be the most likely way to weaken him ; for if he be supposed to inherit the queen's power over the king, it will in some degree give it him ; and, if the opposition are wise, instead of treating with him, they should attack him most vigorously and personally, as a person who has lost his chief support. Which is indeed true, for though he may have more power with the king than any other body, yet he will never have that kind of power which he had by her means ; and he will not even dare to mention many things to the king which he could without difficulty have brought about by her means." ¹

Again, on the 15th November : "It is most certain that Sir Robert must be in the utmost distress, and can never hope to govern the king as the queen governed him. This truth is so obvious to everybody, that many people in place will act very differently with respect to Sir Robert from what they used to do, while they knew that he governed her who absolutely governed the king. . . . In these circumstances, nothing will more hasten his retreat, if he is inclined to retire, nor

¹ "Works," edit. Mahon, v. p. 426.

his ruin, if he is resolved to stand it out, than the part which the prince may, ought, and therefore, I am persuaded, will act. . . . In short, the prince at the head of the opposition, and both encouraging and forcing the opposition to act with vigour, has everything in his hands ; if he acts otherwise, I need not say what will be the consequence of it, I will only borrow the Bishop of St. Asaph's expression, — our enemies will tell us with pleasure.¹ So much for politics, which no man in the kingdom is more resigned about than I am ; I wish the best, and will contribute what little I can to it ; but if the worst happens, I have as much philosophy to bear it, and as many amusements to comfort me under it, as most people I know. As the utmost of my ambition is to serve my country and my friends, but not myself, I shall sacrifice neither to my ambition, and consequently lose the good opinion of neither, a great article, though a rare one in public life, but surely a comfortable one in private.”²

¹“Four Sermons : On the Death of Queen Mary, 1694. On the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, 1700. On the Death of King William, 1701. On the Queen's Accession to the Throne in 1703.” By William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Second edit., 1712. The expression occurs in the preface, in which the bishop, — Fleetwood, — after praising Queen Anne and her “Councels,” says that the “Spirit of Discord” had been permitted to go forth “to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing Prospect” of Peace, “and give us, in its stead, I know not what . . . our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure.”

²“Works,” edit. Mahon, v. p. 428.

But business was concealed under the mask of pleasure, and Lord Chesterfield, writing about the same time to Lady Suffolk, and describing the amusements of the town, after telling that he had recovered his health, "owing to the waters," says: "As for quality, we have the very flower of it in the august persons of the Duchesses of Norfolk¹ and Buckingham,² who, thank God, are well enough together to avoid the fatal disputes about rank which might otherwise arise between the first duchess of the kingdom and a princess of

¹ Probably the dowager duchess, Mary Shireburne, widow of the eighth duke, re-married to Mr. Widdington. — *Note to Suffolk Letters*, vol. ii. p. 162.

² Daughter of James the Second, by Catherine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, created Countess of Dorchester. At the revolution, Sir Charles, resenting the seduction of his daughter, joined the Prince of Orange, and said, ironically, "Since his Majesty has done me the honour of making my daughter a countess, I cannot do less in return than endeavour to make his daughter a queen!" The duchess kept up a constant correspondence with "her dear brother," the Pretender, at Rome, and on all occasions affected the tone of a princess of the blood. "Lady Dorchester, her mother, endeavoured to curb that pride, and, one should have thought, took an effectual method, though one few mothers would have practised: 'You need not be so vain,' said the old profligate, 'for you are not the king's daughter, but Colonel Graham's.' . . . Graham's legitimate daughter, the Countess of Berkshire, was extremely like to the Duchess of Buckingham: 'Well, well!' said Graham, 'kings are all-powerful, and one must not complain; but certainly the same man begot those two women.'" See note to "Suffolk Letters," i. 112; Walpole's "Reminiscences," ch. ix.; Letter to Mann, March 14, 1743, and note.

the blood. Your kinswoman, the Duchess of Norfolk, had like the other day to have been the innocent cause of Mrs. Buckley's death. Mrs. Buckley was bathing in the Cross Bath, as she thought in perfect security, when of a sudden her Grace, who is considerably increased in bulk even since you saw her, came, and, like the great leviathan, raised the waters so high that Mrs. Buckley's guide was obliged to hold her up in her arms to save her from drowning, and carry her about like a child. . . .

"For my own part, were it not for the comfort of returning health, I believe I should hang myself. I am so weary of sauntering about without knowing what to do, or of playing at low play, which I hate, for the sake of avoiding deep play, which I love, that I look upon the remaining five weeks which I am to pass here as a sort of an eternity, and consider London as a remote land of promise, which God knows whether I shall ever get to or no."¹

To this period of festivity may be ascribed his witty verses, "On a Lady's Drinking the Bath Waters:"

"The gushing streams impetuous flow,
In haste to Delia's lips to go ;
With equal haste and equal heat,
Who would not rush those lips to meet !

¹ "Suffolk Letters," ii. p. 161.

Bless'd envied streams, still greater bliss
 Attends your warm and liquid kiss.
 For from her lips your welcome tide
 Shall down her heaving bosom glide ;
 There fill each swelling globe of love,
 And touch that heart I ne'er could move.
 From hence in soft meanders stray,
 And find at last the blissful way,
 Which thought may paint, tho' verse mayn't say."

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The public entertainments were under the direction of Richard Nash, ironically called King of Bath, whose services the corporation thought fit to commemorate by placing a full-length picture of this famous master of the ceremonies in the pump-room, between the busts of Newton and Pope ; which ill-judged display of vanity produced the following epigram from Lord Chesterfield :

"Immortal Newton never spoke
 More truth than here you'll find,
 Nor Pope himself e'er penned a joke
 More cruel on mankind.

"The picture plac'd the busts between,
 Gives satire its full strength ;
 Wisdom and Wit are little seen
 But Folly at full length."¹

¹ Maty, p. 88. I have given this epigram according to the versions in Maty, and in Goldsmith's "Life of Nash," "Works," edit. Cunningham, iv. p. 86. Another version, in which it is divided between Jane Brereton and Lord Chesterfield, is in Locker's "Lyra Elegantiarum," p. 107. So that the authorship is somewhat doubtful. See also "Chesterfield's Works," ed. Mahon, v. p. 402 ; and "Wit and Wisdom of Lord Chesterfield."

The death of Queen Caroline seems the proper occasion for disposing of the question of Lord Chesterfield's supposed attempts to influence the king through Lady Suffolk. That the queen had a personal dislike to Lord Chesterfield there can be no doubt; and that he had little personal respect for the queen is evident from the tone of his letters at the time of her last illness and death. He declined to observe an order issued respecting the court mourning, and in his last letter from Bath, December 12th, this year, he writes to Mr. Lyttelton: "I am sorry it did not occur to my lord president, to propose a deification of her late Majesty, and that the bishops should be ordered to perform the ceremony of her apotheosis in the true pagan manner; if it had, I make no doubt but it would have been readily ordered and religiously complied with. I am not the least afraid of having my chariot or liveries insulted for being out of mourning; besides, at this time of year, the black would show dirt more than the blue."¹

The queen's dislike to the earl appears to have been due partly to his intimacy with Lady Suffolk, when Mrs. Howard, whom, although the queen tolerated, and even encouraged, as mistress to the king, she lost no opportunity of humiliating in her official position at court.²

¹ "Works," ed. Mahon, v. p. 432.

² "Till she became Countess of Suffolk, she constantly dressed the queen's head, who delighted in subjecting her to

But the mutual dislike between the queen and Lord Chesterfield — however it may have originated — is clearly accounted for by Lord Hervey.

“She always disliked Lord Chesterfield, owned it, and used to say it was because he had always disliked her. ‘Dicax enim, illam acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria est:—’” ‘He had a ready wit, and was in the habit of ridiculing her with bitter jests, which stick long and deep in the memory of the great.’ (Tacitus.) This remark was verified between the queen and Lord Chesterfield, by whom she had been often this way provoked, and never forgot it nor forgave it. She has often told me that she knew at Leicester Fields, he used formerly to turn her into ridicule; but that she had then frequently between jest and earnest advised him not to provoke her; telling him at the same time that, though she acknowledged he had more wit than her, yet she would assure him she had a most bitter tongue, and would certainly pay him any debts of that kind with most exorbitant interest. She said he always used to deny the fact,

such servile offices, though always apologising to her good Howard.” — *Walpole's Reminiscences*, ch. vii. There is a letter, May, 1728, from Doctor Arbuthnot to Mrs. Howard, describing the respective duties of the bedchamber woman and of the lady of the bedchamber. — *Suffolk Letters*, i. p. 292.

¹ The text is: “Dicax idem, et Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria est.” — *Annalium*, lib. v. 2.

and do it again the moment he got out of the room, or if she turned her head, without staying till he had turned his back.”¹ This statement is confirmed by Horace Walpole, who says: “On the publication of these memoirs,² I consulted Mrs. Selwyn, bedchamber woman to Queen Caroline (now eighty-five, in 1777). . . . She told me Lord Chesterfield was always ridiculing both the king and the queen, even in the drawing-room; and she said he once asked her (Mrs. S.) if she knew why the queen hated him so much. She replied, ‘My lord, you have more wit than anybody; and you must have as much good fortune too, if your *bons mots* do not come to her Majesty’s ears.’ But the true secret of Lord Chesterfield’s disgrace I learnt from my father, Sir. R. W., and a few years before Lord Chesterfield’s death, I sent him the account by his friend, Sir John Irvine. Lord Chesterfield had one twelfth-night won £1,500 at court, and not caring to venture home with so much money, he carried it to Mrs. Howard’s lodgings (the king’s mistress, afterward Lady Suffolk), and deposited it with her. It happened that the queen was watching at a window that looked on Mrs. Howard’s lodgings, and saw the earl carry the money, which seemed such a mark of connection between them to the queen, who never forgave those that paid court to the

¹ Lord Hervey’s “Memoirs,” i. p. 316.

² Maty’s, in 1777.

mistress, that from that moment she stopped Lord Chesterfield's promotion, and drove him into opposition."¹

The incident above related, however it might have affected Lord Chesterfield's personal relations to the court, could not have had the political consequences attributed to it by Walpole, and is merely consistent with the familiar friendship long existing between the earl and Mrs. Howard, with whom, as his correspondence shows, he was on the most intimate terms during the time that he was in the service of the Crown; and it was not till after Mrs. Howard became Countess of Suffolk, that Lord Chesterfield, having been dismissed from his post of lord steward, owing to the part he took against Walpole's excise scheme, went into active opposition.

Nor is there, in his letters to her, one word intimating that he relied upon her influence; on the contrary, in recommending an application on the part of Lord Pembroke, in July, 1734, he says: "Pray prevail with him to speak to the queen herself, without which there is nothing to be done."²

¹ Walpole's MS. notes on Maty. Walpole tells the same story, with some slight variations, in his "Reminiscences," ch. v., and again in his "Memoires of George the Second," vol. i. p. 45.

² "Suffolk Letters," vol. ii. p. 84.

That others founded their hopes on Mrs. Howard's supposed influence, appears by letters to her from Mrs. Pitt, offering a bribe of a thousand guineas for the place of lord of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, in 1722; and another attempt at a

The inaccuracy of Walpole's assertion that Lord Chesterfield trusted to the influence of Mrs. Howard will be still more evident by the following extracts from his characters of the king, the queen, and Lady Suffolk.

In his character of George the Second, Lord Chesterfield says : " He never had but two avowed mistresses of rank, the Countesses of Suffolk and Yarmouth. The former, though he passed half his time with her, had no degree of influence, and but a small one of profit ;¹ the latter being taken after the death of the queen, had more of both, but no extravagant share of either."²

We shall see, hereafter, that Lord Chesterfield did count in some degree upon the influence of Lady Yarmouth.

And in his character of the queen : " Cunning and perfidy were the means she made use of in business, as all women do, for want of better. She

bribe by the Hon. Walter Molesworth in 1727 ; both which offers Mrs. Howard seems to have properly resented. — *Suffolk Letters*, vol. i. pp. 101, 245.

¹ " Her own acquisitions were so moderate, that besides Marble Hill, which cost the king ten or twelve thousand pounds, her complaisance had not been too dearly purchased. She left the court with an income so little to be envied, that, though an economist and not expensive, by the lapse of some annuities on lives not so prolonged as her own, she found herself straitened ; and, besides Marble Hill, did not at most leave twenty thousand pounds to her family." — *Walpole's Reminiscences*, ch. vii.

² Amelia Sophia, wife of the Baron de Walmoden, created Countess of Yarmouth in 1739.

showed her art most in her management of the king, whom she governed absolutely, by a seeming complaisance and obedience to all his humours ; she even favoured and promoted his gallantries. . . . Upon the whole, the agreeable woman was liked by most people ; but the queen was neither esteemed, beloved, nor trusted by anybody but the king.”¹

¹ The extent to which this complaisance was carried would be almost incredible but for the concurrent testimony of Lord Hervey, Horace Walpole, and Lord Chancellor King. Of Madame Walmoden, Lord Hervey says : “ It is certain that, from the very beginning of this new engagement, the king acquainted the queen by letter of every step he took in it ; of the growth of his passion, the progress of his applications, and their success ; of every word as well as every action that passed ; so minute a description of her person, that, had the queen been a painter, she might have drawn her rival’s picture at six hundred miles’ distance.” — *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 500.

And Walpole says : “ After the death of the queen, Lady Yarmouth came over, who had been the king’s mistress at Hanover during his latter journeys — and with the queen’s privity, for he always made her the confidante of his amours. . . . In his letters to the latter from Hanover, he said, ‘ You must love the Walmoden, for she loves me.’ ” — *Reminiscences*, ch. vii.

And Lord Chancellor King, in his diary, tells that on an occasion that he dined with Sir R. Walpole, “ he let me into several secrets relating to the king and queen . . . that the queen, to continue him in a disposition to do what she desired . . . approved even of his amours ; not scrupling to say, that she was but one woman, and an old woman, and that he might love more and younger women. . . . By which means, and a perfect subserviency to his will, she effected whatsoever she desired, without which it was impossible to keep him within any bounds.” Upon which, Lord Campbell remarks that “ it is matter of history, and discloses to us the real influences by which the nation was governed.” — *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 633.

And of Lady Suffolk's influence, he says: "To my knowledge she sincerely tried to serve some, but without effect; she could not even procure a place of £200 a year for John Gay, a very poor and honest man, and no bad poet, only because he was a poet, which the king considered as a mechanic.¹ The queen had taken good care that Lady Suffolk's apartment should not lead to power and favour, and from time to time made her feel her inferiority by hindering the king from going to her room for three or four days, representing it as the seat of a political faction."

Enough, I think, has been stated to show how groundless is the assertion that Lord Chesterfield, shrewd and observant courtier as he was, ever relied upon Lady Suffolk's position for obtaining interest with the king for political or other purposes.

In the debate on the reduction of the army on March 9th, — the Mutiny Bill having been read a second time, — on its being committed, Lord Chesterfield contended that the arguments in favour of a numerous army depended on maybe's which must always subsist: a minister may die, a prince may have ambitious views, a prince's success may raise the jealousy of others, his misfor-

¹ Johnson throws the blame on Lady Suffolk, but it was not then known how little influence she had even in minor appointments. See "Lives of the Poets," edit. Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 289.

tunes may revive their hopes, there may be a design to invade us, a plot for an insurrection may be forming ; and all these maybe's or possibilities will become probabilities or certainties if we should reduce our army ; that it was not possibilities nor probabilities, nothing but certain immediate danger ought to induce us to agree to keeping up such a numerous army as we have at present ; that there was much more reason to keep our sailors in continual pay than our soldiers. For that a ploughman or a tradesman may much sooner learn to be a soldier than he can learn to be a sailor. That the adding a few more and a few more was a most dangerous doctrine : an army is like a medicine, which ought never to be taken but in a dangerous distemper, and then it may be a good remedy, if taken to a proper quantity ; but by adding a drop more and a drop more, you may make it a poison ; and an able physician only can determine where the remedy ends and the poison begins ; and concluded with an allusion to the case of Lord Cobham and others, saying that he must bemoan because he could not account for some things that had lately happened. Some gentlemen had been lately turned out of the army without having had any crime so much as alleged against them ; gentlemen, who, to the merit of long and faithful service, had added the right and title of purchase ; that these late examples gave him terrible apprehensions of what might happen in some

future reign, and, therefore, he thought it high time to begin to reduce our army.¹

On May 2d, in a debate on the alleged depredations of the Spaniards on British subjects in America, by seizing ships supposed to be concerned in prohibited trade with their settlements, Lord Chesterfield argued in favour of a resort to arms in order to force the Spaniards to observe their faith, and to indemnify the fair traders of this nation, whom they had robbed and plundered.²

The result was an address to the king, to which his Majesty gave his assurance of procuring satisfaction and reparation, and security for freedom of navigation for the future.

On the 23d January this year, Lord Chesterfield wrote to Solomon Dayrolles, congratulating him upon being "now easy and independent" by the death of his uncle; whom he subsequently succeeded as resident at The Hague, and became Lord Chesterfield's most intimate friend and constant correspondent.

The king, in his speech on opening the session, February 1st, informed the Houses that the King of Spain had obliged himself to make reparation to the merchants for their losses by certain stipulated payments. Lord Chesterfield spoke in support of an amendment to the address, contending that the reparation, even if paid, was no repara-

¹ 10 "Parl. Hist.," 510.

² 10 "Parl. Hist.," 776.

tion ; and that as to the searching of our ships, "No search" is the word with every man of common sense in the kingdom.¹

On February 8th and 23d, there were debates on a motion for papers relating to the convention with Spain, and on petitions by West India merchants against the convention. Upon the question whether the petitioners should be heard by counsel, Lord Chesterfield was in favour of hearing the merchants themselves, saying, "If we sincerely want to know the truth, and nothing but the truth, we are to hear it from the mouths of the merchants themselves, because it is their interest to speak truth, and interest never lies."²

The petitioners having accordingly been heard in person at the bar of the House, the debate came on, March 1st, on the convention with Spain, when Lord Chesterfield said :

"I very little mind the address proposed, or any address that can be proposed upon this occasion ; nor am I under the least concern whether you amend it or no, for I shall be against it however amended. I think this convention the most inglorious, the most pernicious that this nation ever made ; and, therefore, I shall be against anything that may seem to insinuate the approbation of this House. . . . I do not know who were the authors of it ; and, therefore, I cannot condemn

¹ 10 "Parl. Hist.," 876.

² 10 "Parl. Hist.," 1049.

the convention because of the authors ; but I must condemn the authors, be they who they will, because of the convention."

He proceeded to show that, though the hands of the Crown had been strengthened in a most extraordinary manner, by its power to obtain satisfaction, reparation, and security by force of arms, if they could not be obtained by peaceable means, no proper use had been made of the powers then granted ; that though great fleets had been fitted out, they had been furnished only with harmless instructions, and therefore could not give the least weight to our negotiations, and could serve for nothing, but to confirm the Spaniards in the contemptible opinion they had long entertained of us ; that in consequence, we had obtained no satisfaction for the many indignities that had been put upon us, no reparation for our losses, no security for our trade or navigation ; that the word "satisfaction" ought not to be mentioned by any one that talks in favour of this convention. "We have got none. Has Spain agreed to deliver up any one of its governors or captains that have so cruelly used our seamen ? This alone can be called satisfaction ; and this we were afraid to ask." After showing that Spain had no just demands upon us : "There were no mutual demands : the demands were all of our side ; we had taken great care they should have no demands upon us ; for to our Christian patience and long suffering, we added a Christian

sort of revenge. We heaped coals of fire upon their heads, by returning them many good offices for many injuries received ; but whatever Christianity may teach with regard to private life, I am sure it inculcates no such doctrines with regard to the behaviour of nations or governments toward one another ; and I have good reason to believe that those who have been the chief authors of our political tameness and submission, were no way influenced by any Christian motives."

After considering the demands we had upon Spain on the part of our merchants, and the unjust manner in which they had been reduced, so that "this treaty seems to have been artfully calculated for palming a sham reparation upon the nation ;" and the want of provision against future depredations, and the right claimed by the Spaniards to seize and confiscate our ships : "They pretend to rights which we can never admit of, as long as we possess a foot of ground, or have any trade in the West Indies ; and they deny us a right that every free state in the world has a just title to by the laws of nature and nations ; and I will venture to prophesy that, without a war, they will never give up the former nor acknowledge the latter. We may negotiate as long as we please ; we may conclude sham treaties and conventions, as temporary expedients for amusing our own people ; but from our late conduct, they have conceived such a contemptible opinion of us that

we must now fight them before we can expect any justice or satisfaction from them. This must at last be the case ; but when this happens, it will not be those who then advise a war, but those who by their pusillanimous conduct have made it necessary, that ought to be blamed for having led the nation into a war. If we had properly resented the first insult, and had peremptorily insisted upon full satisfaction, we might have obtained it by peaceable means ; but now I am afraid it is become impossible : we must go to war before we can expect either satisfaction or quiet ; and when we do, I hope it will be conducted with wisdom and vigour ; for if we show the same irresolute conduct in war, we have lately done in peace, if we seem afraid of hurting the enemy too much, like a senseless and spiritless animal fallen in the mire, the longer we struggle, the deeper we shall sink, and may, at last, come to be suffocated in the mud ; whereas by a bold and vigorous push at first we might have got through the quagmire, and thrown ourselves safe upon the opposite shore."

He then proceeded to comment upon our affairs at that time abroad and at home, arguing that it was useless to put off revenging the affronts put upon us by patchwork and expedients, which had been our method for several years ; illustrating his argument with the following witty comparison : " Like builders, that build a house to

last only for the term of their lease, they build of rotten materials ; and if they can, by patchwork, keep it up while they are in it, they do not care if it tumbles upon and crushes the landlord under its ruins. A minister that has no credit or character abroad, nor any authority or affection among the people at home, must have recourse to patchwork and expedients. He can have no materials, but the rotten hearts of sycophants and time-servers ; and these must be kept together, at a great expense, by temporary expedients : he neither can nor will think of building a solid and lasting fabric ; but I hope the nation will never allow him to build for them ; or if they should be so unwise as to allow him to erect a deceitful fabric, that they will pull it about his ears, before he has time to enclose them ; for if they should allow him to go on, he may so environ them with ruins that it will hardly be possible for them to find their way out. . . . Our domestic affairs may therefore grow worse, but they cannot grow better by our continuing in such a warlike peace as we have continued in for almost these twenty years, and we can expect no other sort of peace, till we retrieve our character, and establish our security, which, I think, can now be done no other way but by a vigorous and well-conducted war.”¹

In a debate on the bill for making provision for

¹ 10 “Parl. Hist.,” 1171, *et seq.*

the duke and the princesses, Lord Chesterfield spoke against it, on the ground that it might not be regarded by a succeeding king, "since it is the same thing as mortgaging an estate without the consent of the heir of entail, who, as soon as he comes to age, may dispute the legality of the mortgage; that there were other branches of the royal family nearer the throne, not only unprovided for, but unprayed for."¹ . . . "That a fatal blow to the Constitution would come from the exorbitancy of the civil list, till, like the Trojan horse, it would be so unwieldy, that, in order to admit it, the wall of this Constitution must one day be broken down."²

On May 10th, in a debate on a treaty of subsidy with Denmark, by which, in consideration of £70,000 paid by England, Denmark was to furnish, on demand, a body of six thousand men; and on a message from the king, desiring the House to allow him to augment his forces during the recess; Lord Chesterfield opposed it on the ground that complying with it would be placing greater confidence in, and giving greater credit to, the present ministers than any ministers ought to be trusted with.

¹ This observation arose from the form of prayer for the royal family which had been issued from the Privy Council, upon the marriage of the Prince of Wales, where the duke's name stood next the Prince and Princess of Wales. — Tindal, and see *post* p. 160.

² 10 "Parl. Hist.," 1361.

“I shall never agree to the nation's giving an unlimited credit to ministers, who, with me, never had any credit ; nor can I give my consent to the nation's putting so much confidence in a ministry, in which I never could put any confidence. . . . To me they seem to have been playing, for almost these twenty years, at a sort of game of hazard for peace or war ; and at last, by a lucky nick, out started a thing they call a convention, which is neither one nor the other ; but is to be made either the one or the other ; they cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them some extraordinary and unusual powers, for enabling them to continue their game. What their future success may be, I shall not now pretend to divine ; but I am sure I shall never be for giving unlimited credit to such awkward gamesters.”¹

Debates followed on May 31st, on a motion for an address to know whether Spain had paid the £95,000 stipulated by the convention ; and on June 4th, that the non-payment of the money was a breach of the convention ; when Lord Chesterfield repeated his charges against the government and the convention, saying, “Let us for once speak the sense of the nation, and endeavour to regain by our arms what we have lost by our councils. Let us lay before his Majesty the true state of the nation, that he may no longer be imposed upon by those who have so

¹ 10 “Parl. Hist.,” p. 1400.

notoriously betrayed her interests and disregarded his honour." ¹

The minister was, however, at last provoked into preparations for war with Spain; and Lord Chesterfield, writing to the Earl of Stair ² on 3d September, says: "What do you say to the vigour of our administration? The sleeping lion is roused; and a hundred and twenty men of war now in commission, and forty thousand land forces in England, will show our enemies abroad that they have presumed too much and too long upon Sir Robert's pacific temper. I say this on the supposition and hopes that these land forces are only raised against our common enemies

¹ 10 "Parl. Hist.," p. 1417.

² John, second Earl of Stair, born in 1673. He had been, in 1715, ambassador at Paris, but was now in vehement opposition to Sir R. Walpole. He subsequently commanded the army under the king at Dettingen, as to which see *post*, p. 232.

Walpole says that his disgrace was entirely owing to himself: "He was romantically brave and gallant, and he always mixed both with his politics, as aids to his ambition. He even made indirect love to Queen Caroline, which being neglected, his lordship, by means of Lord Grantham, her chamberlain, was introduced to a private audience of her Majesty, for which Grantham was severely reprimanded. Lord Stair gave her a memorial against Sir R. W. The queen said, 'My lord, I never meddle with affairs of state, but as soon as the king's minister, Sir Robert Walpole, comes, I will give it to him.' Lord Stair bowed and set out the next morning for Scotland, where he remained till Sir R. Walpole retired from court. Sir Robert was in possession of Lord Stair's memorial to his death." — *Walpole's MS. notes on Maty*, and see *Lord Herve's Memoirs*, i. p. 326.

abroad, and not against Sir Robert's enemies at home; though I know which I believe."¹

On November 15th, the king, in opening the session, announced that war had been declared against Spain, and in his speech said that the "heats and animosities" which had been fomented throughout the kingdom had been one of the encouragements to Spain to hold such conduct to us as to make it necessary to have recourse to arms. Lord Chesterfield said it had been a custom to make the address a sort of echo to the king's speech, "and, as echoes never fail to repeat the last words of a sentence, so it seems we must never fail of echoing back the last paragraph of the king's speech;" he expressed his strong approval of the measure.²

It was to these "heats and animosities," and to the want of union amongst the opposition, that their weakness was due; and Lord Chesterfield, writing upon this subject to the Earl of Stair, December 3d, says: "While the Houses of Lords and Commons are absolutely in the power of the Crown, as they visibly now are, we have no constitution, and the Crown alone is, without a mystery, the three branches of the legislature. But, unfortunately, this is what many people desire as heartily as you and I wish the contrary. Sir Robert's health is thought to be very preca-

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 116.

² 11 "Parl. Hist.," p. 42.

rious,' and there are many of us who already anticipate in their thoughts the joyful moment, which they think not remote, of coming into power ; and consequently, far from desiring to make shackles for themselves, are rather willing to continue those upon the people which Sir Robert has forged for them. This, I own, is a melancholy case ; but I fear it is too much the case. The persons you allude to, that you think might be prevailed with to act against Sir Robert, are not to be moved. They have been tried, and their own interest in so doing has been manifestly shown them, but to no purpose. They consider money as their only interest, and would not venture the suspension of a quarter's salary, to save the whole nation. This, my dear lord, is our wretched situation, from whence, I think, little good can arise. Union among ourselves cannot be expected where our

¹ This surmise had more truth in it than is usual with opposition rumours. Walpole's health was beginning to sink under his laborious duties and anxieties. His son Horace, writing to Mann, Oct. 8, 1741, says : " Sir Robert came from Richmond on Sunday night extremely ill, and on Monday was in great danger. It was an ague and looseness. . . . He came out of his chamber to-day for the first time, and is quite out of danger. One of the newspapers says, Sir R. W. is so bad that there are no hopes of him." And again, October 19th : " Sir Robert now never sleeps above an hour without waking ; and he, who at dinner always forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together. Judge if this is the Sir Robert you knew." — *Walpole's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 74, 78.

views are so widely different. This Sir Robert knows and triumphs in. I despair of either doing good or seeing any done ; yet, while I live, I assure you, I will endeavour it.”¹

At the beginning of the year 1750, Lord Chesterfield had the misfortune to lose one of his earliest and dearest friends, Richard, Earl of Scarborough, who died by his own hand on the 29th January. Writing on the 15th February to the Reverend Doctor Chenevix, who had been, on the recommendation of Lord Scarborough, his chaplain at The Hague, Lord Chesterfield says : “We have both lost a good friend in Scarborough ; nobody can replace him to me ; I wish I could replace him to you ; but as things stand, I see no great hopes of it.”² And some years afterward, in drawing the character of his friend, he says :

“I will be strictly upon my guard against the partiality of that intimate and unreserved friendship, in which we lived for more than twenty years ; to which friendship, as well as to the public notoriety of it, I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own. . . .

“He had a very good person, rather above the middle size ; a handsome face, and, when he was cheerful, the most engaging countenance imaginable ; when grave, which was oftenest, the most

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 118.

² “Letters,” iii. p. 119.

respectable¹ one. He had in the highest degree the air, manners, and address of a man of quality, politeness with ease, and dignity without pride.

“He was a strong, but not an eloquent or florid speaker in Parliament. He spoke so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart, that truth and virtue, which never want, and seldom wear, ornaments, seemed only to borrow his voice. This gave such an astonishing weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. Such is the authority of unsuspected virtue, that it will sometimes shame vice into decency at least. . . .

“He was not only offered, but pressed to accept, the post of secretary of state; but he constantly refused it. I once tried to persuade him to accept it; but he told me that both the natural warmth and melancholy of his temper made him unfit for it; and that moreover he knew very well that, in those ministerial employments, the course of business made it necessary to do many hard things, and some unjust ones, which could only be authorised by the Jesuitical casuistry of the direction of the intention; a doctrine which he said he could not possibly adopt. Whether he was the first that ever made that objection, I cannot affirm; but I suspect that he will be the last. . . .

“He joined to the noblest and strictest principles of honour and generosity the tenderest senti-

¹ Deserving respect.

ments of benevolence and compassion ; and as he was naturally warm, he could not even hear of an injustice or a baseness, without a sudden indignation ; nor of the misfortunes or miseries of a fellow creature, without melting into softness and endeavouring to relieve them. This part of his character was so universally known, that our best and most satirical English poet ¹ says :

“ ‘ When I confess, there is who feels for Fame,
And melts to Goodness, need I Scarb’row name ? ’

“ He had not the least pride of birth and rank, that common narrow notion of little minds, that wretched mistaken *succedaneum* of merit ; but he was jealous to anxiety of his character, as all men are who deserve a good one. And such was his diffidence upon that subject, that he never could be persuaded that mankind really thought of him as they did. For surely never man had a higher reputation, and never man enjoyed a more universal esteem. Even knaves respected him ; and fools thought they loved him. If he had any enemies (for I protest I never knew one), they could only be such as were weary of always hearing of Aristides the Just. . . .

“ His constitution, which was never robust, broke rapidly at the latter end of his life. He had two severe strokes of apoplexy or palsy, which considerably affected his body and his mind.

¹ Pope, “ Epilogue to the Satires,” Dialogue II. 65.

This, added to his natural melancholy, made him put an end to himself in the ——— year of his age. . . . I owed this small tribute of justice, such as it is, to the memory of the best man I ever knew, and of the dearest friend I ever had.”¹

On February 28th, in a debate occasioned by a message for a supply having been sent to the Commons only, Lord Chesterfield said: “Ought we not to have had this communication made to us as well as to the other House; or was it less necessary to ask our assistance than to ask the assistance of the other House? No minister could think it was but he who thinks himself so sure of our favours that they are not worth asking. This, my lords, is treating us like the most common prostitute. We have not been injured, but we have been slighted, which is worse, because a slight proceeds always from contempt, whereas an injury proceeds often from fear.”²

On March 19th, a bill having been sent up

¹ “Lord Scarborough was a sensible man and of unblemished honour. Lord Chesterfield, less punctilious, had instilled scruples into him, and made him believe his voting with the court was in consequence of his place, Lord Chesterfield hoping that if once detached from the court Lord Scarborough might more easily be drawn into opposition. The first part of the plan succeeded, but wrought great uneasiness in a mind so nice and so melancholy, as Lord Chesterfield allowed. . . . Lord Scarborough’s gloomy mind, though steady to honour, was so fluctuating, that he twice sold his seat at Stanstead, and twice paid a very large sum to break off the bargain.” — *Walpole’s MS. notes on Maty*.

² 11 “Parl. Hist.,” p. 476.

from the Commons for disabling persons from being members of that House who have any pensions during pleasure, Lord Chesterfield argued in support of it, that it was for the purpose of getting at the proof of what was only suspected, — corrupt practices for gaining undue influence, — that it could never diminish or encroach upon the prerogatives of the Crown, which could still reward merit in the proper way, that is, openly.

“True generosity and true merit, my lords, delight in sunshine. It is glorious to reward true merit, it is glorious to receive the reward; and therefore, whoever gives or receives the reward, will be fond of doing it publicly, and of declaring it openly, without fear of being impeached of corruption. When Admiral Vernon¹ was a member of the other House, the majority was generally against him: they did not then like his face; and, I believe, if he were still a member, they would

¹ “This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character. . . . He affirmed, in a debate on the Spanish depredations, that Porto Bello on the Spanish main might be easily taken, and even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. The minister, glad to remove so troublesome a censor from the House, sent him as commander-in-chief to the West Indies.” — *Smollett*, Book II. chap. vi. He is often mentioned at this time in Walpole’s “Letters.”

as little like it now ; yet, if he should receive a reward from the Crown, that majority would not, I believe, vote that reward to be a bribe. I am sensible, majorities have sometimes done very extraordinary things ; but yet, I do not believe they would do this, because that admiral has so well deserved a reward. He has done with six ships, about two thousand seamen, and two hundred tattered soldiers from Jamaica, what, we were told, could not be done by a large squadron, and at least eight thousand men, when our ships and sailors lay rotting at the Bastimentos.”¹

On April 15th, on a motion by Lord Bathurst for a vote of censure for not sending land forces with Admiral Vernon to America, Lord Chesterfield again spoke in praise of Vernon having taken Porto Bello with no other land-forces than two hundred and forty men lent him by the Governor of Jamaica, saying that it was owing to his bravery, not to say to a happy temerity.²

But Sir Robert Walpole still maintained his ground. Lord Chesterfield, writing to the Earl of Stair in May, says : “The opposition is, in truth, become no opposition at all, — is looked upon already in that light by the court, and, I am afraid, will soon be so by the whole nation. The views of the individuals are too different for them to draw together. Some few mean the public good, and

¹ 11 “Parl. Hist.,” 561.

² 11 “Parl. Hist.,” 582.

they are for acting and pushing of constitutional measures ; but many more mean only their private interest, and they think public inaction and secret negotiations the most conducive to it. They consider Sir Robert's life as a bad one,¹ and desire, by their submission and tameness, to recommend themselves to be his successors. The court, they say, is too strong to be overcome by opposition ; that is, in truth, they think it would be too strong for their impatience for power upon any terms. In this distracted state of the opposition, you will not be surprised that nothing is done, and that the court triumphs. Those of your friends here, with whom I am connected, wish, as I do, many things which it is not in our power to bring about, and which would only discover our weakness to attempt. My only hopes are from the spirit of the nation in the next election, where, if we exert, I think, there are hopes of having a better Parliament than this. . . . If all meant as well as you do, I should, with more hopes and better spirits, take what little part I am able ; but I confess that, in the present situation of things, I rather content myself with not doing ill, than hope to do any good. I will keep my conscience and my character clear, wish what I should, and do what I can ; *et pour le reste, alors comme alors.*"²

Maty says that it was at this time in Lord

¹ See *ante*, p. 151.

² "Letters," iii. p. 120.

Chesterfield's power to have made terms with the minister; that he might now have had the post which he had long wished for, and afterward obtained, of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and tells that one morning the earl, expressing his regret to Doctor Chenevix (afterward Bishop of Waterford) that he was so long without preferment, said: "Well, I have just thought of a way by which I am sure you'll succeed with Sir Robert; go and tell him from me that I will accept of the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. I am sure he will then procure you a good living from the Crown."¹

On the opening of the session, November 18th, and on the debate on the address of thanks for the king's speech, Lord Chesterfield again attacked the minister respecting the prosecution of the war with Spain;² and on December 1st, on a motion by Lord Bathurst for papers containing Admiral Vernon's instructions, he supported the motion, saying that it was evident that either he had no proper orders, or that he was not provided with a proper force; and that in either case a parliamentary censure must ensue.³ Again, with wit and sarcasm, on a motion for Rear-Admiral Had-dock's instructions, replying to an observation of the lord chancellor (Hardwicke) that an inquiry into the conduct of a war *flagrante bello* must al-

¹ Maty, pp. 97, 306.

² 11 "Parl. Hist.," 613, 654.

³ 11 "Parl. Hist.," 699, 731.

ways be attended with great danger, Lord Chesterfield said: "It is not proposed to inquire into the conduct of the war *flagrante*, but *languente bello*, and if we do not inquire into it while it is *languens*, I believe we shall have no opportunity to inquire into it while it is *flagrans*; at least, I believe we shall have no such opportunity as long as it is under the same management."¹

On January 12th, Lord Chesterfield moved for an address to the king: That he will be graciously pleased to give directions that the issue of their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales, be inserted in the prayers for the royal family in the "Book of Common Prayer," saying that "This part of the royal family can have given no offence. They cannot even pray for themselves, and all that can be done for them is to pray for them."²

On January 20th, on an address for extracts of treaties, Lord Chesterfield said that the intention of it was to know what were our engagements to other powers, and *vice versa*, and on February 3d, on a motion for an address against the intended augmentation of the army, he supported the motion on the usual ground of its danger to the Constitution.³

On February 13th, on Lord Carteret's motion

¹ 11 "Parl. Hist.," 83.

² 11 "Parl. Hist.," 996; *ante*, p. 147.

³ 11 "Parl. Hist.," 999, 1019.

for an address to the Crown for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chesterfield did not join in the debate, but on the motion being rejected, his name appears on the protest.¹ A similar motion was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Sandys on the same day, and it is sufficient here to state that the minister triumphed over the motions in both Houses by large majorities.

On April 8th, on the king's speech for a vote of credit for £300,000 in support of the pragmatic sanction, and as a subsidy to the Queen of Hungary, and on a motion for an address of thanks for the same on the following day, Lord Chesterfield opposed it, saying: "We are now going to a new election; the spirit of the nation can only be brought to choose a Parliament agreeable to the administration by a deluge of gold, and this is one of the exhalations that are to form those showers; it will be easy to puzzle accounts so that something may be saved for the purpose of elections."²

In a letter of April 24th to Hugh, Earl of Marchmont,³ Lord Chesterfield gives the following account of this debate: "You have heard in

¹ 11 "Parl. Hist.," 1215.

² 12 "Parl. Hist.," 152.

³ Early in 1740, Alexander, Earl of Marchmont, died, and was succeeded by the elder of his twin sons, Hugh, Lord Polwarth, "that valuable, or rather invaluable young man," as Bolingbroke, in a letter to Wyndham in 1739, calls him. Thus the young earl had lost his seat in the House of Commons, without (as a Scottish peer) acquiring any in the House of Lords. His diary, published in 1831, shows that he continued,

general (to be sure) of what happened in both Houses upon the vote of credit, but I believe you may be glad to know more particulars. Pulteney gave up the point at once with alacrity in the House of Commons, seconded by your friend Sandys, who went still farther than he to make his court upon the tender point of Hanover. The next day the king's speech was to be considered in our House, when, before the meeting of the House, Carteret came up to the Duke of Argyle and myself, and said to us: 'You heard what was done in the House of Commons yesterday; we shall do the same here to-day.' We answered that we had not the least intention of doing the same, for that we should certainly oppose the motion, at which he seemed concerned and surprised. Accordingly the Duke of Argyle threw the first stone at the motion for the address, and I the second and last. Then Carteret opened himself with all the zeal and heart of a convert, or an apostate, which you please, if a man can be called either who has no religion at all. We divided the

though out of Parliament, to take an active interest in politics; but it was not till 1750 that he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers, and in 1764 he was appointed lord keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. In the House of Lords, however, he made no efforts to maintain the high reputation for oratory which he had gained in the Commons. He survived till January, 1794, when he died in the eighty-sixth year of his age, at his seat at Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire. See Preface to "Marchmont Papers."

House, not so much to show our own strength, which we knew, but his weakness; and indeed it appeared, upon the division, that he left us *lui troisième et demi* only, that is, himself, Winchelsea, Roxburgh, and Berkeley of Stratton, who will not always go with him; the others who left us, such as Northampton and Oxford, doing it visibly upon other considerations. . . .

“I propose setting out for Aix-la-Chapelle in about a fortnight, from thence to Spa till the beginning of August, and then to take a tour for the autumn at least, if not longer, in France. If about that time you propose being at Bolingbroke’s, I will contrive my affairs so as to meet you there; otherwise I shall take D’Argeville,¹ as it may be most suitable to my plan of rambling in that country. I tell you truly, what I have told to nobody else, that unless the prospect here mends extremely, I shall not be in haste to return, but will make a considerable stay in a country that will do me a great deal of good at a time when I can do no country any good at all. The languor and dispiritedness that have made life burthensome to me all this winter require a better climate and more dissipation than I can find here, and I think it is better conversing with the cheerful, natural-born slaves of France than with the sullen, venal, voluntary ones of England.”²

¹ Lord Bolingbroke’s seat near Fontainebleau.

² “Marchmont Papers,” vol. ii. p. 248.

Although the reasons given in the above letter sufficiently account for this trip to the Continent, a deep political motive has been assigned to it. Walpole says that "after the ineffectual motion in 1740 for removing the minister, Lord Chesterfield was despatched to Avignon by the party to solicit, by the Duke of Ormond's means, an order from the Pretender to the Jacobites to concur roundly in any measure for Sir Robert's destruction."¹

Maty, however, in his relation of Lord Chester-

¹ "Memoires of George II.," vol. i. p. 45. This is referred to again in a letter to Mann, July 5, 1745: "Why were we to fancy that my Lord Chesterfield's parts would have more weight than my uncle had, whom, ridiculous as he was, they had never known to take a trip to Avignon to confer with the Duke of Ormond?" But Lady Mary, writing from Avignon, July 19, 1742, to Mr. Wortley Montagu, says: "All the English, without distinction, see the Duke of Ormond. Lord Chesterfield (who, you know, is related to him¹) lay at his house during his stay in this town, and, to say truth, nothing can be more insignificant. He keeps an assembly, where all the best company go twice in the week. . . . The duke lives here in great magnificence, is quite inoffensive, and seems to have forgot every part of his past life, and to be of no party, and indeed this is perhaps the town in the whole world where politics are the least talked of." — *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. ii. p. 117, edit. 1861.

¹ Lord Chesterfield was not, properly speaking, related to the Duke of Ormond. Lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter to James, Duke of Ormond, was the second wife of Lord Chesterfield's grandfather, Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield; but by her he had no children that survived, except a daughter, married to the fourth Earl of Strathmore. Lord Chesterfield was the grandson of the third wife, Lady Elizabeth Dormer, daughter of Charles, Earl of Carnarvon.

field's travels on this occasion, gives no hint of any political purpose, but tells only that he went abroad to "retrieve his health;" that at Brussels he spent a few days with his friend Voltaire, who read to him some passages from his tragedy "Mahomet;" that from thence he went to Spa for the benefit of the waters; that he afterward paid a short visit to Paris, where "he was a most acceptable guest in the best societies, and a partaker in their pleasures. The hotels of Coigny, Matignon, Noailles were open to him, as well as the houses of Madame de Tencin, de Monconseil, Martel, ladies equally distinguished by their rank, their merit, and their wit. He frequently saw some of the principal *litterati* of that country, such as Sallier, Crebillon, Fontenelle, but chiefly his old friend, Montesquieu."¹

The reception he met with during his short stay at Paris² is also noticed in a letter from Mr. Pitt,

¹ Maty, pp. 100-102.

² Of Lord Chesterfield's stay in Paris, Walpole says: "I was returning from my travels at that very time, and lodged in the same house (the Hôtel de Luxembourg, Rue des Petits Augustins) with Lord Chesterfield. When I came home, I mentioned it to my father, Sir R. W. He said, 'I will tell you where he has been, and on what errand. He has been at Avignon, sent by the opposition to the Duke of Ormond, to beg that duke would procure the Pretender's orders to the Jacobites in Parliament to vote for removing me from the king's councils, if the opposition should renew their last year's motion against me.' On that motion most of the Jacobites had left the House rather than concur in so unjust a motion. What a fine thing is biography

of the 10th September: "I hope you liked the court of France as well as it liked you. The uncommon distinctions I hear the cardinal (Fleury) showed you, are the best proof that, old as he is, his judgment is as good as ever. As this great minister has taken so much of his idea of the men in power here, from the person of a great negotiator who has left the stage (Lord Waldegrave), I am very glad he has had an opportunity, once before he dies, of forming an idea of those out of power from my Lord Chesterfield."¹

But whether Lord Chesterfield's travels at this time had any political purpose, or were merely for health and amusement, there is no trace in his letters from abroad of any such scheme as that mentioned by Horace Walpole, if indeed Lord Chesterfield could be supposed likely to have disclosed it even by a hint. In a letter to Lyttelton from Aix-la-Chapelle on June 6th, after telling the good effect of the waters, the change of air, etc., upon his health and spirits: "Even this place and this company, both of them the worst of their kinds I believe in the whole world, do not sink my spirits. I saunter about this great imperial city, and view the churches, convents, buildings, and signs thereof, with all the attention and observation of a laborious German traveller; and I con-

when confronted with truth!" — *Walpole's MS. notes on Maty*. But, on this point, where is the truth?

¹ "Chatham Correspondence," vol. i. p. 3.

clude the evening as I begin the morning, with political conversations upon the present distracted state of Europe in general, and the Germanic body in particular, with various counts and barons of the sacred Roman empire. Judge, then, whether any weight can sink me, when these waters buoy me up, with so much lead upon me. One thing that helps me a great deal here is my extreme indifference as to what any people I meet with may either think or say of me ; whereas I confess that, in England, my consciousness that, of late, I have not only been dispirited but almost stupefied, and incapable of either attention or imagination, made me uneasy and unwilling to appear among those whose good opinion, if I ever had, I was unwilling to lose. I had that diffidence and distrust of myself which never fail to make one appear still worse than one really is. But here, in Germany, I am very near being a lively coxcomb, relying upon the truth of the French proverb, *que dans le Royaume des Aveugles un borgne fait figure*. I think of nothing in England except of those few persons whom I love and value in that corrupt and profligate nation ; but as for all political matters, I have banished them from my thoughts, and give myself no concern whether that slavery, which I see is inevitable, takes place in the year forty-two, three, or four. In this indifference and dissipation of mind I propose passing four or five months more, if I live so long, and then returning to a climate

and a people where my lot has unfortunately placed me. If I recover my health and spirits, they shall be at the service of my friends, to employ as they think proper, and as occasions allow. If not, the honest comforts of a private life shall be my determination, as they have long been my wish." ¹

And writing again to Lyttelton from Spa, August 1st: "For my own part, when I turned my back upon London, I repeated, *Urbs venalis et mox peritura si emptorem invenerit*, and resolved when I was once out of England not to think into it, if I could help it, but attend singly to my health, as the only thing I can now call my own." ²

And again to Lyttelton from Lyons, September 11th: "The present situation of affairs abroad is as ridiculous, and at the same time as lamentable, as that of our affairs at home, and I see no good to be done in either case; but however I will not decline any part that shall be assigned me, and though I give up the game in opinion, I will not give it up in fact till my friends do so too. I shall be supposed to return full of dangerous and combustible matter, having been three days at Bolingbroke's, which it was impossible for me to avoid, if I had been inclined to it, being obliged necessarily to pass by his door. But he is so much of my mind that the whole affair is over,

¹ "Works," edit. Mahon, v. p. 439.

² "Works," edit. Mahon, v. p. 441.

that we did not lose one-quarter of an hour's time in talking of public matters. He is plunged in metaphysics, and willingly neither speaks, nor speaks of anything else."¹

Writing to his friend, Doctor Chenevix, from Spa, July 4th :

"DEAR DOCTOR:—It was with real concern that I heard you were ill ; and it is with equal truth that I hope this will find you perfectly recovered. That virtue which makes you fit, and it may be willing, to die, makes those who are acquainted with it, as I am, unwilling you should ; therefore take care of your health, and let it not be affected by a too great sensibility of those misfortunes that inseparably attend our state here. Do all you can to prevent them, but, when inevitable, bear them with resolution ; this is the part I take with relation to my own health. I do all I can to retrieve and improve it, and if I acquire it, I will do all I can to preserve it ; my bodily infirmities shall as little as possible affect my mind, and so far at least I will lessen the weight of them.

"These waters have already done me so much good that I have reason to expect a great deal more from them ; and I expect still more benefit from passing my autumn afterward in constant travelling through the south of France. Thus you see I anticipate eventually the good, which is

¹ "Ibid," v. p. 443.

at least so much clear gain, let what will happen afterward. Do so too, dear doctor, and be as well and as happy as you are sincerely wished to be by

“Your most faithful friend and servant.”¹

His only letter on the political situation is a long one to Bubb Dodington² from Spa on September 8th :

“By the best judgment I can form of the list of this present Parliament, and I have examined it very carefully, we appear to be so strong, that I think we can but just be called the minority ; and

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 130.

² Afterward Lord Melcombe, who has celebrated his political dishonesty in the curious “Diary,” detailing his conduct from 1749 to 1761. He died in 1762. He had been an early friend of Lord Chesterfield, who, in his “Detached Thoughts,” thus describes him : “With submission to my Lord Rochester, God made Dodington the coxcomb he is ; mere human means could never have brought it about. He is a coxcomb superior to his parts, though his parts are superior to almost anybody’s. He is thoroughly convinced of the beauty of his person, which cannot be worse than it is without deformity. His distinguished awkwardness he mistakes for a peculiar gracefulness. He thinks himself successful with women, though he has never been tolerated by any, except the —— he keeps, and the wife he married. He talks of his ancestors, though no mortal knows that he had even a father. And what is difficult for him to do, he even overrates his own parts. Common coxcombs hope to impose upon others more than they impose upon themselves ; Dodington is sincere, nay, moderate ; for he thinks still ten times better of himself than he owns. Blest coxcomb !” — *Works*, edit. Mahon, v. p. 385.

I am very sure that such a minority, well united and well conducted, might soon be a majority. But,

“‘Hoc opus hic labor est.’

“It will neither be united nor well conducted. Those who should lead it will make it their business to break and divide it, and they will succeed; I mean Carteret and Pulteney. . . .

“On the other hand, Sir Robert must be alarmed at our numbers, and must resolve to reduce them before they are brought into the field. He knows by experience where and how to apply for that purpose; with this difference only, that the numbers will have raised the price, which he must come up to. And this is all the fruit I expect from this strong minority. You will possibly ask me, whether all this is in the power of Carteret and Pulteney? I answer, yes, — in the power of Pulteney alone. He has a personal influence over many, and an interested influence over more. The silly, half-witted, zealous Whigs consider him as the only support of Whiggism; and look upon us as running headlong into Bolingbroke and the Tories. . . .

“I entirely agree with you, that we ought to have meetings to concert measures sometime before the meeting of the Parliament; but that, I likewise know, will not happen. I have been these seven years endeavouring to bring it about,

and have not been able ; fox-hunting, gardening, planting, or indifference having always kept our people in the country, till the very day before the meeting of the Parliament. Besides, would it be easy to settle who should be at those meetings ? If Pulteney and his people were to be chose, it would only be informing them beforehand, what they should either oppose or defeat ; and if they were not there, their own exclusion would in some degree justify, or at least colour their conduct. As to our most flagitious House, I believe you agree there is nothing to be done in it ; and for such a minority to struggle with such a majority, would be much like the late King of Sweden's attacking the Ottoman army at Bender, at the head of his cook and his butler.

"These are difficulties, the insurmountable difficulties, that I foresee ; and which make me absolutely despair of seeing any good done. However, I am entirely at the service of you and the rest of my friends who mean the public good. I will either fight or run away, as you shall determine. If the Duke of Argyle sounds to battle, I will follow my leader ; if he stays in Oxfordshire, I'll stay in Grosvenor Square.¹ I think it is all one which we do as to our House ; yours must be the scene of action, if action there be ; and action, I

¹To which Lord Chesterfield had removed at the time of his marriage, see *ante*, p. 88, and where he lived until he built the mansion which bears his name.

think, there should be, at least for a time, let your numbers be what you will.

"I leave this place to-morrow, and set out for France, a country which, in my conscience, I think as free as our own. They have not the form of freedom as we have. I know no other difference. I shall pass a couple of months in rambling through the southern provinces, and then return to England."¹

It is worth while to observe that, during these travels, Lord Chesterfield found time to write letters to his son, not only on manners and morals and topics of education, but also descriptive of the places he was visiting; but as they were addressed to a boy of about nine years of age, they do not properly find a place here.²

I may pause here in my narrative to state that during the years 1737 to 1739 Lord Chesterfield contributed several papers to *Common Sense*, a publication which was partly political, but chiefly designed for the improvement of manners and taste. The following extracts from his papers on the latter subjects will show the tone and style of the work, and seem not less applicable now than when they were written. In the first paper, he thus defines and illustrates common sense:³

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 131.

² See "Letters," i. pp. 18-25.

³ Saturday, February 5, 1737, with the motto:

"Rarus enim ferme sensus communis."—*Juv.*

"Nothing so rare as common sense."

“Being a man of great learning, I have, in choosing the name of my paper, had before my eyes that excellent precept of Horace to authors, to begin modestly, and not to promise more than they are able to perform, and keep up to the last. I have therefore only entitled it Common Sense, which is all I pretend to myself, and no more than what, I dare say, the humblest of my readers pretends to likewise.

“But, as a further encouragement and invitation to the public to try me, I declare that, though I only promise them common sense, yet if I have any wit, they shall have it into the bargain. Wherefore I desire my customers to look upon this weekly expense as a twopenny ticket in a lottery : it may possibly come up wit, and if a blank, at worst, common sense.

“But, as modesty is the great recommendation to great minds, on the other side it is apt to prejudice little ones, who mistake it for ignorance or guilt ; therefore, that I may not suffer by it with the latter, I must repeat a known observation, that common sense is no such common thing. I could give many instances of this truth, if I would, but decline it at present, and choose to refer my readers to their several friends and acquaintance.

“Should I here be asked then what I mean by common sense, if it is so uncommon a thing, I confess I should be at a loss to know how to define it. I take common sense, like common

honesty, rather to be called common because it should be so, than because it is so. It is rather that rule by which men judge of other people's actions, than direct their own; the plain result of right reason admitted by all and practised by few.

"An ingenious dramatic author has considered common sense as so extraordinary a thing, that he has lately, with great wit and humour, not only personified it, but dignified it too with the title of a queen.¹ Though I am not sure that had I been to personify common sense, I should have borrowed my figure from that sex, yet as he has added the regal dignity, which by the law of the land removes all defects, I waive any objection. The fair sex in general, queens excepted, are infinitely above plain downright common sense; sprightly fancy and shining irregularities are their favourites, in which despairing to satisfy, though desirous to please them, I have, in order to be of some use to them, stipulated with my stationer, that my paper shall be of the properest sort for pinning up of their hair. As the new French fashion is very favourable to me in this particular, I flatter myself they will not disdain to have some common sense about their heads at so easy a rate.

¹ "Pasquin: a Dramatic Satire on the Times; being the rehearsal of two plays, viz., a comedy called 'The Election,' and a tragedy called 'The Life and Death of Common Sense.'" First acted in April, 1736.—*Fielding's Works*, vol. iii. See *ante*, p. 110.

“I am sensible that common sense has lately met with very great discouragement in the noble science of politics, our chief professors having thought themselves much above those obvious rules that had been followed by our ancestors, and that lay open to vulgar understandings; they have weighed the interests of Europe in nicer scales, and settled them in so delicate a balance that the least blast affects it. For my part, I shall endeavour to bring them back to the old solid English standard of common sense; but if by that means any gentlemen, who distinguish themselves in that sublime sphere, should be at a loss for business, and appear totally unqualified for it, I hope they will not lay their misfortunes to my charge, since it is none of my fault if their interests and those of common sense happen to be incompatible.

“If, in domestic affairs, too, I should find that common sense has been neglected, I shall take the liberty to assert its rights, and represent the justice as well as the expediency of restoring it to its former credit and dignity. Our Constitution is founded upon common sense itself, and every deviation from one is a violation of the other. The several degrees and kinds of power, wisely allotted to the several constituent parts of our legislature, can only be altered by those who have no more common sense than common honesty. Such offenders shall be proceeded against

as guilty of high treason, and suffer the severest punishment.

“Upon the whole, my intention is to rebuke vice, correct errors, reform abuses, and shame folly and prejudice, without regard to anything but common sense; which, as it implies common decency too, I shall confine myself to things, and not attack persons; it being my desire to improve or amuse everybody, without shocking anybody.”

Under the figure of the Great Mogul,¹ whom he represents as annually valued according to his physical weight, — an obvious satire upon George II., — and thence dwelling upon the balance of power in the Constitution, there is a stroke at Sir Robert Walpole, “*le gros homme* :”

“What has been said hitherto relates only to metaphorical weight, and is meant to recommend to the serious care and attention of posterity the preservation of our happy Constitution, and to advise them to be watchful of any the least innovation in any part of it. But I am not sure whether the real literal weighing of many individuals may not greatly contribute to this good end; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion by an experiment of that kind, which I am informed has been for some years last past tried with great success. I am assured that in a great hall at the country-seat of a very considerable person in

¹ Saturday, February 19, 1737. “The Great Mogul.”

Christendom,¹ there is a very magnificent pair of man scales, where the master of the house and his numerous guests are annually weighed, and are as annually found to increase immensely.”²

He begins a discourse upon dress :³

“The Romans used to say, *ex pede Herculem*, or you may know Hercules by his foot, intimating that one may commonly judge of the whole by a part. I confess, I am myself very apt to judge in this manner, and may, without pretending to an uncommon share of sagacity, say that I have very seldom found myself mistaken in it. It is impossible not to form to one’s self some opinion of people the first time one sees them, from their air and dress, and a suit of clothes has often informed me, with the utmost certainty, that the wearer had not common sense. The Greeks (to display my learning) said *ἡμέτερον ἀνὴρ*, or the dress shows the

¹ Sir Robert Walpole at Houghton, where his autumnal meetings used to be called his Congresses.

² “At Houghton, in Norfolk, the seat of Sir Robert Walpole. Amidst the exaggerations of the opposition on that fabric, the lanthorn in the hall, which was of brass gilt, happened to be most taken notice of. One periodical paper, describing the seat, said the author was first carried into a glass room, which he took for the porter’s lodge, but was told it was only the lanthorn. This lanthorn, however, was so far from being even large enough that the second Lord Orford sold it; and by a singular fate it was purchased by Lord Chesterfield, and was not too large for the staircase of his house in London, where it now hangs.” — *Walpole’s MS. note.*

³ *Common Sense*, Saturday, February 26, 1737. “Upon Dress.”

man ; and it is certain, that of all trifling things, there is none by which people so much discover their natural turn of mind, as by their dress.

“ Dress, to be sensible, must be properly adapted to the person ; as, in writing, the style must be suited to the subject, which image may not unaptly be carried on through the several branches of it. I am far from objecting to the magnificence of apparel, in those whose rank and fortune justify and allow it ; on the contrary, it is a useful piece of luxury, by which the poor and the industrious are enabled to live, at the expense of the rich and the idle. I would no more have a woman of quality dressed in doggerel than a farmer’s wife in heroics. But I hereby notify to the profuse wives of industrious tradesmen and honest yeoman that all they get by dressing above themselves is the envy and hatred of their inferiors and their equals, with the contempt and ridicule of their superiors.

“ To those of the first rank in birth and beauty, I recommend a noble simplicity of dress ; the subject supports itself, and wants none of the borrowed helps of external ornaments. Beautiful nature may be disfigured, but cannot be improved by art ; and as I look upon a very handsome woman to be the finest subject in nature, her dress ought to be epic, modest, and noble, and entirely free from the modern tinsel. I therefore prohibit all *concetti* and luxuriances of fancy,

which only depreciate so noble a subject ; and I must do the handsomest women I know the justice to say that they keep the clearest from these extravagances. . . .

“As for those of an inferior rank of beauty, such as are only pretty women, and whose charms result rather from a certain air and *je ne sais quoi* in their whole composition, than from any dignity of figure, or symmetry of features, I allow them greater licenses in their own ornaments, because their subject, not being of the sublimest kind, may receive some advantages from the elegancy of style, and the variety of images. I, therefore, permit them to dress up to all the flights and fancies of the sonnet, the madrigal, and such like minor compositions. . . .

“There is a third sort, who, with a perfect neutrality of face, are neither handsome nor ugly, and who have nothing to recommend them but a certain smart and genteel turn of little figure, quick and lively. These I cannot indulge in a higher style than the epigram, which should be neat, clever, and unadorned, the whole to lie in the sting ; and where that lies, is unnecessary to mention.

“Having thus gone through the important articles of dress, with relation to the three classes of my countrywomen, who alone can be permitted to dress at all, namely, the handsome, the pretty, and the genteel, I must add that this







privilege is limited by common sense to a certain number of years, beyond which no woman can be any one of the three. I therefore require, that, when turned of thirty, they abate of the vigour of their dress; and that, when turned of forty, they utterly lay aside all thoughts of it. And, as an inducement to them so to do, I do most solemnly assure them that they may make themselves ridiculous, but never desirable by it. When they are once arrived at the latitude of forty, the propitious gales are over; let them gain the first port, and lay aside their rigging.¹

“I come now to a melancholy subject, and upon which the freedom of my advice, I fear, will not be kindly taken; but, as the cause of common sense is most highly concerned in it, I shall proceed without regard to the consequences; I mean the ugly, and, I am sorry to say it, so numerous a part of my countrywomen, I must, for their own sakes, treat them with some rigour, to save them not only from the public ridicule, but indignation. Their dress must not rise above plain, humble prose, and any attempts beyond it amount at best to the mock-heroic, and excite

¹ Lord Hervey expresses a very different opinion on this subject; when writing to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1737, he says: “I ever did, and I believe ever shall, like woman best —

“Just in the noon of life — those golden days,
When the mind ripens ere the form decays.”

Lady Mary was full ripe, being then forty-seven.

laughter. An ugly woman should by all means avoid any ornament that may draw eyes upon her which she will entertain so ill. But if she endeavours, by dint of dress, to cram her deformity down mankind, the insolence of the undertaking is resented; and when a Gorgon curls her snakes to charm the town, she would have no reason to complain if she lost head and all by the hand of some avenging Perseus. Ugly women, who may more properly be called a third sex than a part of the fair one, should publicly renounce all thoughts of their persons, and turn their minds another way; they should endeavour to be honest good-humoured gentlemen; they may amuse themselves with field-sports, and a cheerful glass, and, if they could get into Parliament, I should, for my own part, have no objection to it. Should I be asked how a woman shall know she is ugly, and take her measures accordingly, I answer that, in order to judge right, she must not believe her eyes, but her ears, and, if they have not heard very warm addresses and applications, she may depend upon it, it was the deformity, and not the severity of her countenance, that prevented them.

“There is another sort of ladies, whose daily insults upon common sense call for the strongest correction, and who may most properly be called old offenders. These are the sexagenary fair ones, and upward, who, whether they were handsome or not in the last century, ought at least in

this to reduce themselves to a decency and gravity of dress suitable to their years. These offenders are exceedingly numerous; witness all the public places, where they exhibit whatever art and dress can do to make them completely ridiculous. I have often observed septuagenary great-grand-mothers adorned, as they thought, with all the colours of the rainbow, while in reality they looked more like the decayed worms in the midst of their own silks. Nay, I have seen them proudly display withered necks, shrivelled and decayed like their marriage-settlements, and which no hand but the cold hand of time had visited these forty years. The utmost indulgence I can allow here is extreme cleanliness, that they may not offend more senses than the sight; but for the dress, it must be confined to the elegy and the *tristibus*."

The paper concludes with an animadversion upon the "rage of foreign fopperies," and exhorts the British ladies to revive by their credit the trade and manufactures of their own country.

In treating upon the word "Honour,"¹ he shows the falsity of the doctrine that morality is local, and differs in different ages and countries: "The invariable laws of justice and morality are the first and universal emanations of human reason, while unprejudiced and uncorrupted; and we may as well say that sickness is the natural

¹ *Common Sense*, Saturday, April 30, 1737. "Upon the word 'Honour.'"

state of the body, as that injustice and immorality are the natural situation of the mind. We contract most of the distempers of the one by the irregularity of our appetites, and of the other, by yielding to the impetuosity of our passions; but in both cases, reason, when consulted, speaks a different language.

"I admit, that the prevailing customs and fashions of most countries are not founded upon reason, and, on the contrary, are too frequently repugnant to it; but then the reasonable people of those countries condemn and abhor, though, it may be, they too wittingly comply with, or, at least, have not courage openly to oppose them.

"The people of rank and distinction, in every country, are properly called the people of fashion; because, in truth, they settle the fashion. Instead of subjecting themselves to the laws, they take measure of their own appetites and passions, and then make laws to fit them; which laws, though neither founded in justice, nor enacted by a legal authority, too often prevail over, and insult, both justice and authority. This is fashion."

He then considers the word honour in its fashionable acceptance, as personified in the imaginary character of Belville, who, "filled with the noblest sentiments of honour, paid all debts but his just ones; kept his word scrupulously in the flagitious sale of his conscience to a minister; was ready to protect, at the expense of his friend's life,

his friend's wife, whom by the opportunities that friendship had given him, he had corrupted ; and punished truth with death, when it intimated, however justly, the want of it in himself."

Under an Oriental allegory¹ of the rat in the statue, which cannot be got out of the statue without injuring it, so that the regard for the statue saves the rat that is got into it, the writer satirises those "who, without virtue or merit, have gained the favour of their prince ; they ruin everything ; one sees it, one laments it, but does not know how to remedy it." And after discussing various ways of getting the rat out without damaging the statue, he applies the allegory to the king and his minister. "A minister without virtue or merit gains the favour of his prince ; he ruins everything ; one sees it, one laments it, but one does not know how to remedy it. To me the remedy seems easy and obvious ; take the minister away from him, and prevent the ruin, that threatened both him and his country. I do not doubt, indeed, but the minister would, during the operation, cry out, . . . you attack the king, you deface the king, you wound the king through my sides, and would plead the king, as women do their bellies, to respite execution ; but surely, upon examination, a degree of sagacity, much inferior to that of matrons, would be sufficient to bring him in not quick

¹ *Common Sense*, Saturday, May 14, 1737. "A Political Allegory."

with king, but a distinct and separate body, easily removed without the least danger to the sovereign."

He begins a paper upon "Coxcombs" ¹ by saying: "Monsieur de La Rochefoucault very justly observes that people are never ridiculous from their real, but from their affected, characters; ² they cannot help being what they are, but they can help attempting to appear what they are not. . . . Fatuus, ³ the most consummate coxcomb of this or any other age or country, has parts enough to have excelled in almost any one thing he would have applied himself to. But he must excel in all. He must be at once a wit, a lover, a scholar, and a statesman; yet conscious of the impracticability of the undertaking, he parcels out his accomplishments, and compounds to have the several branches of his merit admired in separate districts.

"Hence he talks politics to his women, wit to ministers of state, displays his learning to beaux, and brags of his success in gallantry to his country neighbours. His caution is a proof of his

¹ *Common Sense*, Saturday, September 3, 1737. "Upon Coxcombs."

² "On n'est jamais si ridicule par les qualités que l'on a que par celles que l'on affecte d'avoir." — *Maximes*, cxxxiv.

³ Thomas Coke, Lord Lovel, afterward Earl of Leicester, Lord Chesterfield's rival for the favour of Lady Fanny Shirley. See his character in Sir Charles Hanbury Williams's "Isabella, or The Morning." — *Walpole's MS. note*; and see *ante*, p. 90.

guilt, and shows that he does not deceive himself, but only hopes to impose upon others. Fatuus's parts have undone him, and brought him to a bankruptcy of common sense and judgment; as many have been ruined by great estates, which led them into expenses they were not able to support."

After describing some other species of coxcombs: "It is very certain that no man is fit for everything, but it is almost as certain, too, that there is scarce any one man who is not fit for something, which something nature plainly points out to him by giving him a tendency and propensity to it. I look upon common sense to be to the mind, what conscience is to the heart, the faithful and constant monitor of what is right or wrong. And I am convinced that no man commits either a crime or a folly, but against the manifest and sensible representations of the one or the other. Every man finds in himself, either from nature or education, for they are hard to distinguish, a peculiar bent and disposition to some particular character; and his struggling against it is the fruitless and endless labour of Sisyphus. Let him follow and cultivate that vocation, he will succeed in it, and be considerable in one way at least; whereas, if he departs from it, he will, at best, be inconsiderable, probably ridiculous."

In his next paper,¹ on "Female Coxcombs,"

¹ "*Common Sense*, Saturday, September 10, 1837. "Female Coxcombs."

while justly blaming women, when, "laying aside their natural characters, they assume those which are appropriate to us," Lord Chesterfield draws a "beautiful picture of what woman might be if she would only be true to nature."¹ "The delicacy of their texture, and the strength of ours, the beauty of their form, and the coarseness of ours, sufficiently indicate the respective vocations. Was Hercules ridiculous and contemptible with his distaff? Omphale would not have been less so at a review or a council-board. Women are not formed for great cares themselves, but to soothe and soften ours; their tenderness is the proper reward for the toils we undergo for their preservation; and the ease and cheerfulness of their conversation, our desirable retreat from the labours of study and business. They are confined within the narrow limits of domestic offices, and when they stray beyond them they move eccentrically, and consequently without grace." After drawing some characters of women as they ought not to be: "How amiable may a woman be, what a comfort and delight to her acquaintance, her friends, her relations, her lover, or her husband, in keeping strictly within her character! She adorns all female virtues with native female softness. Women while untainted by affectation, have a natural cheerfulness of mind, tenderness and benignity of heart, which

¹ *Quarterly Review*, October, 1890.

justly endears them to us, either to animate our joys, or soothe our sorrows; but how are they changed and how shocking do they become, when the rage of ambition, or the pride of learning, agitates and swells those breasts, where only love, friendship, and tender care should dwell."

Respecting the laws of taste in eating,¹ he begins by remarking upon taste in general:

"Taste is now the fashionable word of the fashionable world. Everything must be done with taste; that is settled, but where and what that taste is, is not quite so certain, for after all the pains I have taken to find out what was meant by the word, and whether those who use it oftenest had any clear idea annexed to it, I have only been able negatively to discover, that they do not mean their own natural taste, but, on the contrary, that they have sacrificed it to an imaginary one, of which they can give no account. They build houses in taste, which they cannot live in with conveniency;² they suffer with impatience the music they pretend to hear with rapture; and they

¹ *Common Sense*, Saturday, February 11, 1738. "Laws of Taste in Eating." "Ne vitam transeant, veluti pecora; quae natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit." — *Sallust*.

² An allusion to General Wade's house in Cork Street, built for him by Lord Burlington, respecting which, on account of its external elegance, and internal inconvenience, Lord Chesterfield, on seeing it, said to the general, "If I had your house, I would hire the opposite one to live in, and enjoy the prospect." Walpole mentions it in a letter to Montagu, May 18, 1748.

even eat nothing they like, for the sake of eating in taste.

“ ‘ Not for himself, he sees, or hears, or eats ;
Artists must choose his pictures, music, meats.’ ”¹

“ Eating, itself, seems to me to be rather a subject of humiliation than pride, since the imperfection of our nature appears in the daily necessity we lie under of recruiting it in that manner, so that one would think the only care of a rational being should be, to repair his decaying fabric as cheap as possible. But the present fashion is directly contrary : and eating, now, is the greatest pride, business, and expense of life, and that, too, not to support, but to destroy nature.”

After giving a description of a gluttonous feast : “. . . It is really not to be imagined with what profound knowledge and erudition our men of quality now treat these culinary subjects ; and I cannot but hope that such excellent critics will at last turn authors themselves ; nay, I daily expect to see a digest of the whole art of cookery by some person of honour.”²

After showing that there is some ground for the supposition that “ animal food communicates its qualities with its nourishment : ”

¹ Pope, “ Moral Essays,” Epistle IV.

² The Duc de Nevers, father of the Duc de Nevernois, did actually publish a book on cookery. — *Walpole's MS. note.*

"Suppose, for instance, a number of persons, not over lively at best, should meet of an evening to concert and deliberate upon measures of the utmost consequence, grunting under the load and repletion of the strongest meats, panting almost in vain for breath, but quite in vain for thought, and reminded only of their existence by the unsavoury returns of an olio; what good could be expected from such a consultation? The best one could hope for would be, that they were only assembled for show, and not for use; not to propose or advise, but silently to submit to the orders of some one man there, who, feeding like a rational creature, might have the use of his understanding." ¹

Writing about the close of the opera, ² for which he appears to express only ironical regret,

¹ The Cabinet council. The Duke of Newcastle had a famous French cook called Cloe. — *Walpole's MS. note.*

But Lord Chesterfield could appreciate the favourable influence on the mind to be obtained by good living. Writing from The Hague to the Duke of Newcastle, on March 20, 1745, he says: "Mr. Van de Poll's son, of Amsterdam, goes to England by the next packett boat. Hop will present him at court and to your Grace. I beg you will let Chloe stuff him once or twice, and let him know that I procur'd him the stuffing . . . his father is the ruling man of Amsterdam; he had a French tendency, but I have been pulling at him ever since I have been here and with some success . . . Pray tell the son the great regard I have for his father, and that I have assur'd your Grace of his abilities and his zeal for the common cause." — *Newcastle Papers*, 32,804, f. 249.

² *Common Sense*, October 14, 1737. "Close of the Opera."

he says: "But I came at last to consider, as I always do, how far, and in what manner, this great event might possibly affect the public, and whether the cessation of operas would prove a national loss or a national advantage: for public diversions are by no means things indifferent; they give a right or a wrong turn to the minds of the people, and the wisest government in the world, I mean, to be sure, our own, thought so not above two years ago, and prudently subjected all our public entertainments to the wisdom and care of the lord chamberlain, his licenser, or his licenser's deputy-licenser."¹

In ridiculing the prevailing taste for French fashions:² "I do not mean to undervalue the French; I know their merit; they are a cheerful, industrious, ingenious, polite people, and have many things in which I wish we did imitate them. But, like true mimics, we only ape their imperfections, and awkwardly copy those parts which all reasonable Frenchmen themselves condemn in the originals. If this folly went no farther than disguising both our meats and ourselves in the French modes, I should bear it with more patience, and content myself with representing only to my country folks, that the one would make them sick, and the other ridiculous; but when even the materials for the folly are to be brought over from

¹ See *ante*, p. 108.

² *Common Sense*, Saturday, November 11, 1738.

France, too, it becomes a much more serious consideration. Our trade and manufactures are at stake, and what seems at first only very silly is in truth a great national evil, and a piece of civil immorality."

And with respect to foreign travelling: "Traveling is, unquestionably, a very proper part of the education of our youth; and like our bullion, I would allow them to be exported. But people of a certain age beyond refining, and once stamped here, like our coin, should be confined within the kingdom. The impressions they have received make them current here, but obstruct their currency anywhere else, and they only return disguised, defaced, and probably much lessened in the weight.

"I could point out to these itinerant spirits a much shorter, less expensive, and more effectual method of travelling and Frenchifying themselves; which is, if they would but travel to Old Soho, and stay two or three months in *le quartier des Grecs*;¹ lodgings and *légumes* are very cheap there, and the people very civil to strangers. There, too, they might possibly get acquainted with some French people, which they never do at

¹ The place where most of the descendants of the French refugees then lived. Their chapel, in which divine service was, and still continues to be, performed, according to the rites of the Church of England, had formerly belonged to a congregation of Greeks, and has given its name to all the environs of Soho Square. — *Note by Maty in 1777.*

Paris ; and, it may be, learn a little French, which they never do in France neither ; and I appeal to any one who has seen those venerable personages of both sexes of the refugees, if they are not infinitely more genteel, easier, and better dressed in the French manner than any of their modern English mimics."

The last paper contributed by Lord Chesterfield relates to a trifling transaction, in which the king's Hanoverian troops took possession of the territory of Steinhorst ; and the earl takes the opportunity of indulging his usual satirical humour concerning the expenses of the electorate.¹

"While England was unconnected with any dominions upon the Continent, we had only our fleets to prevent and resist insults from other powers ; whereas by our happy union with Hanover, we have a body of above twenty thousand men, most excellent troops, to act whenever we think proper, without the least danger or expense to England, by which too particularly we bridle the North.

"The duchy of Bremen is of infinite advantage to England, as it supplies us with great quantities of linen, both for home consumption and reëxportation, to the great ease of our linen manufacturers, who would otherwise be obliged to make ten times the quantity they do now.

¹ *Common Sense*, Saturday, January 27, 1739. "Hanover and England."

“Hanover may be likewise of use to us by its example, since there cannot be a stronger instance of the advantages arising to a country, from a wise and frugal administration, than the great improvement of that electorate under the successive governments of his late and his present Majesty.”

On his return to England, the first letter we have from Lord Chesterfield was to the Earl of Marchmont, November 12th, urging him to come to town: “I need not tell you, that it is not proper for you, in the light that all mankind sees you, to be buried in Scotland at this extraordinary crisis; less need I tell you, how agreeable and necessary your presence here will be to all your friends, and how indispensably necessary it is to me, who cannot stir one step without you. The minority is a considerable and a willing one; and if we can frustrate the designs of some few, who want to divide and weaken it, some good, I think, may be done; but I repeat it again, I can do nothing without you, so —

“*Nil mihi rescribas attamen: ipse veni,*’

is the most earnest request of, etc.”¹

The crisis referred to in the foregoing letter was the state of parties at this time. As had been foreseen, the result of the elections for the new Parliament, which was to meet on the first of

¹ “Marchmont Papers,” ii. p. 262. Ovidii Epist. Penelope Ulyssi.

the ensuing month, had been that the ministerial majority was greatly reduced; and on December 4th, in the debate on the address of thanks for the king's speech, Lord Chesterfield "thundered out what may be called his first philippic against the ministry."¹ The speech related entirely to the inefficient conduct of the war, and though justly applauded for its eloquence even by the speakers on the other side, "did not prevent the usual compliment being paid to the Crown, or rather to the minister."² "Lord Chesterfield made a very fine speech against the address, all levelled at the house of Hanover." "The court had a majority of forty-one, with some converts."³

The Houses adjourned for three weeks at the close of this year; and on January 27, 1742, in a debate on a resolution concerning the absence of officers from the garrison of Minorca, — fourteen out of nineteen being absent on leave, — Lord Chesterfield, in answer to an argument in favour of the absentees, that they had seats in Parliament, contended that it was a strong argument for excluding all or most officers or placemen from having seats in Parliament, and for prohibiting them to vote or make interest at any election;

¹ Maty, p. 106. The sentiments were no doubt those of Chesterfield, but the "thunder," as reported, sounds more like that of Johnson.

² Maty, p. 107; 12 "Parl. Hist." p. 232.

³ Walpole to Mann, December 10, 1741.

and so nearly were parties balanced at this time, that by a majority of only twelve was the motion for censure defeated.¹

The resignation of the minister was, however, precipitated by the Chippenham election petition on the 28th January, which having been carried against him, Parliament was adjourned, on the 3d February, to the 18th. On the 9th February, Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and on the 11th he resigned his employments.²

Writing about these changes, Horace Walpole says: "When you receive this, there will be no longer a Sir Robert Walpole; you must know him for the future by the title of Earl of Orford. That other envied name expires next week with his ministry. Preparatory to this change, I should tell you that last week we heard in the House of Commons the Chippenham election, when Jack Frederick and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hume, on our side petitioned against Sir Edmund Thomas and Mr. Baynton Rolt. Both sides made it the decisive question — but our people were not all equally true; and upon the previous question we had but 235 against 236, so lost it by one. From that time my brothers, my uncle, I, and some of his particular friends persuaded Sir R. to resign. He was undetermined till Sunday night. Tuesday we were to finish the election, when we lost it by

¹ Maty, p. 107; 12 "Parl. Hist.," p. 391, *et seq.*

² 12 "Parl. Hist.," 411.

sixteen ; upon which Sir Robert declared to some particular persons in the House his resolution to retire, and had that morning sent the Prince of Wales notice of it. . . . Yesterday (Wednesday) the king adjourned both Houses for a fortnight, for time to settle things. Next week Sir Robert resigns, and goes into the House of Lords. The only change yet fixed is that Lord Wilmington¹ is to be at the head of the treasury — but numberless other alterations and confusions must follow.”²

In the formation of the new ministry, no offer was made to Lord Chesterfield ; but he bore, or affected to bear, the disappointment with much philosophy.

In a letter to Madame de Martel,³ at Paris, in this month, announcing the retirement of Sir Robert, etc. :

“Voilà pour les nouvelles, que je ne bannis non plus que vous de notre commerce, mais dont je fais l'article le moins essentiel, car par ma foi je me soucie bien moins de ce que font les rois que

¹ Sir Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, Knight of the Garter, and at this time lord president of the Council. — *Walpole*.

² Walpole to Mann, February 4, 1742.

³ “I wrote to Paris for an account of this Madame de Martel and received the following answer : ‘Madame Martel s'appelloit Mademoiselle Coulon : c'étoit une petite demoiselle de Dauphiné, dont à son arrivée la beauté fit grand bruit. Elle étoit précieuse, affectée, galante ; eut beaucoup d'avantures : elle n'étoit pas de la bonne compagnie.’” — *Walpole's MS. notes on Maty*.

de ce que vous me dites et de ce que vous pensez, et les faits seront toujours les endroits de vos lettres qui m'intéresseront le moins. Ce n'est pas au reste un grand compliment que je vous fais, vu la situation d'esprit, dans laquelle je me trouve : car, soit philosophie, soit paresse, ou même indolence, je regarde tous ces évènements qui agitent tant les autres, avec le même sang froid que je lis ceux de l'antiquité ; et tous les rois de l'Europe sont pour moi les Rois de Perse et d'Egypte. Si pourtant ma destinée, ou mes liaisons, m'obligent à prendre quelque part aux affaires, il faut subir le joug, et remplir mes engagements, mais ce ne sera pas sans envier le bienheureux sort de ceux qui restent maîtres de leur tems, de leurs actions, et de leurs paroles." ¹

Vehement as Lord Chesterfield had been in his opposition to the minister, he showed no personal feeling against him in his fall ; but on the contrary, with that independence of mind which was his strongest characteristic as a statesman, when Lord Orford went to the House of Lords to take his seat, and some of his political opponents "were close by him, but would not bow to him, Lord Chesterfield wished him joy." ²

Writing to Doctor Chenevix on March 6th, he says : "The public has already assigned me different employments ; . . . but I have been offered

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 136.

² Walpole to Mann, February 18th.

none, I have asked for none, and I will accept of none till I see a little clearer into matters than I do at present ; I have opposed measures, not men, and the change of two or three men only is not a sufficient pledge to me that measures will be changed ; nay, rather an indication that they will not ; and I am sure no employment whatsoever shall prevail with me to support measures I have so justly opposed. A good conscience is in my mind a better thing than the best employment, and I will not have the latter till I can keep it with the former ; when that can be, I shall not decline a public life, though in truth more inclined to a private one.”¹

The above letters seem to bear out Maty's suggestion that Lord Chesterfield was left out of the list either through jealousy in the chiefs, dislike on the part of the king, or unwillingness in the earl to accept of engagements unless he knew and approved of the terms.²

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 138.

² Maty, p. 111. Upon this passage Walpole says : “I believe there was no unwillingness on his side, but the truth was, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke had betrayed Sir R. W. to Pulteney and Carteret, as the latter afterward sent Sir R. word, and in concert with Mr. Pelham they four formed an administration, with only a few creatures of Pulteney and Carteret. Pulteney, over-refining, missed his opportunity, and when he could not attain power, reproached the duke with breach of engagements. As Lord Carteret soon got the king's favour, the Pelhams and Hardwicke broke with him, turned him out by their superior interest in both Houses, and from the incapacity

Lord Chesterfield's health had been in a great measure restored by his visit to Spa, but he was now again troubled with his usual complaints, respecting which, in the following letter to Doctor Cheyne,¹ he writes with his accustomed wit and philosophy.

"LONDON, April 20, 1742.

"DEAR DOCTOR:— Your inquiries and advice concerning my health are very pleasing marks of your remembrance and friendship; which, I assure you, I value as I ought. It is very true, I have, during these last three months, had frequent returns of my giddiness, languors, and other nervous symptoms, for which I have taken vomits; the first did me good, the others rather disagreed with me. It is the same with my diet; sometimes the lowest agrees, at other times disagrees with me. In short, after all the attention and observation I am capable of, I can hardly say what does me good, and what not. My constitution conforms

of Lord Carteret's tools; and then the Pelhams introduced Lord Chesterfield, Pitt, and Lyttelton, etc., who, being neglected in the first arrangement, had gone into still more angry opposition to Lord Carteret than to Sir R. W. This plain, simple, and true account is the quintessence of what Doctor Maty has palliated in this long deduction." — *Walpole's MS. note.*

¹ George Cheyne, one of the most celebrated physicians of his day, born in 1671. He had retired to Bath for the sake of his health, and died there in 1742, shortly after the date of this letter. His chief works were: "The English Malady," "A Treatise on Nervous Disorders," "A Treatise on Gout," and an "Essay on Regimen."

itself so much to the fashion of the times, that it changes almost daily its friends for its enemies, and its enemies for its friends. Your alkalisèd mercury, and your Burgundy, have proved its two most constant friends. I take them both now, and with more advantage than any other medicine. I propose going to Spa as soon as the season will permit, having really received great benefit by those waters last year; and I find my shattered tenement admits of but half repairs and requires them annually.

“The *corpus sanum*, which you wish me, will never be my lot; but the *mens sana*, I hope, will be continued to me, and then I shall better bear the infirmities of the body. Hitherto, far from impairing my reason, they have only made me more reasonable, by subduing the tumultuous and troublesome passions. I enjoy my friends and my books as much as ever, and I seek for no other enjoyments; so that I am become a perfect philosopher, but whether *malgré moi* or no, I will not take upon me to determine, not being sure that we do not owe more of our merit to accidents, than our pride and self-love are willing to ascribe to them.”¹

The Committee of Secrecy appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Earl of Orford, respecting suspicions of bribery and corruption during the last ten years of his being commissioner of the

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 139.

treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, having reported that Nicholas Paxton, solicitor to the treasury, refused to answer questions put to him, on the ground that they would accuse himself,¹ a bill was passed rapidly through the Commons to indemnify persons making discoveries concerning the minister's conduct; and when it came before the Upper House, on the 25th May, Lord Chesterfield, while disclaiming any sentiment of pique against Lord Orford, argued in favour of it, that it was a bill to hinder inquiry from being impossible; that accomplices were invited every day to a discovery by impunity and rewards, and even with the condition added, if the person be convicted and not else; that if the bill were rejected, no evidence would be procured for the future against any minister; and that if there was here no *corpus delicti*, yet while there was a *corpus suspicionis*, inquiry ought to be made.

To which Lord Hardwicke replied that he very well understood what was meant by *corpus delicti*, which was universally known to mean the body of an offence, but as to the words *corpus sus-*

¹“They sent for Paxton, the solicitor to the treasury, and examined him about five hundred pounds which he had given seven years ago at Lord Limerick's election. The man, as it directly tended to accuse himself, refused to answer. They complained to the House, and after a long debate, he was committed to the sergeant-at-arms; and to-day, I hear, for still refusing, will be sent to Newgate.” — *Walpole to Mann, April 15, 1742.*

pcionis, they could signify nothing more than the body of a shadow, the substance of something which is itself nothing.¹

The rejection of the bill, "though made the subject of a violent protest in the Lords, and some inflammatory resolutions in the Commons, was approved of by the public, who began to think that the reports of the secret committees, appointed to inquire into the misconduct of Sir Robert Walpole, disappointed all their expectations, by disclosing nothing, because there was little to be discovered, and who were now ready to point all their indignation against those who, having pledged themselves to bring him to the block, were treading in his footsteps."² But further progress in this scrutiny was stopped by the prorogation of Parliament.³

The business of the session having detained Lord Chesterfield in town too long for his in-

¹ 12 "Parl. Hist.," 650, 684; Walpole to Mann, May 26: "Yesterday, the Indemnity Bill came on, and Lord Carteret took the lead against it, and about seven in the evening it was flung out by almost two to one, 92 to 47, and 17 proxies to 10." And see Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. v. p. 88, and his note respecting the accuracy of "Johnson's Debates."

² Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. v. p. 89.

³ The doings of the secret committee are amusingly told in Walpole's letters at this period. On July 7th, writing to Mann, he says: "Well! you may bid the secret committee good night. The House adjourns to-day till Tuesday, and on Thursday is to be prorogued."

tended visit to Spa this year, he took refuge at Bath, where the waters never failed to give him temporary relief. The following extracts from a letter to his son, though they have no relation to the affairs of the time, may be allowed on account of their merit.

“BATH, June 28, 1742.

“DEAR BOY :—Your promises give me great pleasure ; and your performance of them, which I rely upon, will give me still greater. I am sure you know that breaking of your word is a folly, a dishonour, and a crime. It is a folly, because nobody will trust you afterward ; and it is both a dishonour and a crime, truth being the first duty of religion and morality : and whoever has not truth, cannot be supposed to have any one good quality, and must become the detestation of God and man. . . .

“What is the way, then, to arrive at that perfection, which you promise me to aim at ? It is, first, to do your duty toward God and man ; without which, everything else signifies nothing : secondly, to acquire great knowledge ; without which, you will be a very contemptible man, though you may be a very honest one : and, lastly, to be very well bred ; without which, you will be a very disagreeable, unpleasing man, though you should be an honest and a learned one.

“Remember, then, these three things, and

resolve to excel in them all, for they comprehend whatever is necessary and useful for this world or the next; and, in proportion as you improve in them, you will enjoy the affection and tenderness of

“Yours.”

There died in June this year,¹ at Stowe, the seat of Lord Cobham, William Hammond, an intimate friend of Lord Chesterfield, who mentions him several times in his letters. Writing to Lyttelton from Bath, December 12, 1737, describing the company there, he says: “Hammond devoted entirely to the women;” and this single line gives the clue to his character. In a letter to Lyttelton, June 19, 1742: “The death of poor Hammond was the only event that disturbed the tranquillity of my mind. He died in the beginning of a career, which, if he had lived, I think he would have finished with reputation and distinction. But such is the folly, knavery, and futility of the world, and such was his truth, fidelity, and attachment to me, that, in my opinion, I have lost more by his death than he has.” And Walpole, in his caustic way, mentioning his death, says: “There is just dead, one Hammond, a disciple of Lord Chesterfield, and equerry to his Royal Highness;² he had parts, and was just come into

¹ Maty wrongly places his death in 1744.

² Frederick, Prince of Wales.

Parliament strong of the Cobham faction, or nepotism, as Sir Robert calls it."¹ Hammond appears to have divided his time between his books and his devotions to Catherine Dashwood, the love of whom disordered his understanding, and, it is said, caused his death, she having rejected him for prudential reasons.² Walpole also says: "He was in love with Mrs. Catherine Dashwood, a beauty, since woman of the bed-chamber to Queen Charlotte,³ who, finding he did not mean marriage, broke off all connection, though much in love with him."⁴ The last mention of her in his letters is in 1761, where he speaks of her as "Kitty Dashwood, the famous old beauty of the Oxfordshire Jacobites, living in the palace as duenna to the queen."⁵ She died, in that capacity, in 1779.

Of Hammond's "Love Elegies," it is sufficient to say that they were published in 1745, with a recommendatory preface by Lord Chesterfield, which raised strong prejudices in their favour.⁶ His only other mention of Hammond is in a

¹ To Mann, June 10, 1742.

² Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," edit. Cunningham, ii. p. 330. Croker's Preface to Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," p. xxx.

³ Wife of George III.

⁴ MS. notes on Maty's "Memoirs."

⁵ Letter to Mann, September 10, 1761.

⁶ "Love Elegies," written in the year 1732. *Virginibus puerisque canto*. London, fol. 1745. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," ii. p. 331. See the Preface in "Lord Chesterfield's Works," ed. Mahon, vol. v.

letter to Dayrolles in December, 1751, in which he speaks of sending two copies of the "Elegies."¹

In August, Lord Chesterfield was again in London, whence he addressed the following graceful letter to Madame de Tencin,² one of those ladies by whom he had been so agreeably entertained on his visit to Paris the preceding year, and introducing Mrs. Cleland, the bearer of the letter.

"À LONDRES, ce 20 Août, V. S., 1742.

"Combattu par des mouvemens bien différens, j'ai longtems balancé, avant que d'oser me déterminer à vous envoyer cette lettre. Je sentoits

¹"Letters," iii. p. 452.

²"She (Madame de Tencin) had been a nun, and quitted her convent, and to the end of her life was engaged in all sorts of intrigues, gallant, political, and interested. She was suspected of having robbed and murdered one of her lovers, and was saved from prosecution by the interest of another of them, Lord Harrington.

"The author, D'Alembert, was her natural son, and Monsieur de Pontdeyvelt (Pont de Veyle) her nephew, who fathered, as it was supposed, her two famous novels, the 'Comte de Comminges,' and the 'Siege of Calais.' The celebrated Madame de Geoffrin was one of her pupils.

"Mrs. Cleland was sister of Lady Allen, both of Jewish and Flemish extraction. Both had parts, both were very satirical. Mrs. Cleland was very affected, but had less parts than her sister. She was wife of Pope's friend, Mr. Cleland. Lady Allen kept a sort of academy of *beaux esprits*, and was much connected with Lionel, Duke of Dorset, Lord Bath, Lord Lyttelton, and Lady Hervey." — *Walpole's MS. note.*

toute l'indiscrétion d'une telle démarche, et à quel point c'étoit abuser de la bonté que vous avez eue pour moi pendant mon séjour à Paris, que de vous la redemander un autre ; mais sollicité vivement par une dame, que son mérite met à l'abri des refus, et porté d'ailleurs à profiter du moindre prétexte pour rappeler un souvenir qui m'est si précieux que le votre, le penchant, comme il arrive presque toujours, a triomphé de la discrétion, et je satisfais en même tems à mes propres inclinations, et aux instances de Madame Cleland, qui aura l'honneur de vous rendre cette lettre. Je sais par expérience, madame, car j'en suis moi-même un exemple, que ce n'est pas la première affaire de la sorte, à laquelle votre réputation, qui ne se renferme point dans les bornes de la France, vous a exposée ; mais je me flatte aussi que vous ne la trouverez pas la plus désagréable. Un mérite supérieur, un esprit juste, délicat, et orné par la lecture de tout ce qu'il y a de bon dans toutes les langues, et un grand usage du monde, qui ont acquis à Madame Cleland l'estime et la considération de tout ce qu'il y a d'honnêtes gens ici, me rassurent sur la liberté que je prends de vous la recommander, et me persuadent même que vous ne m'en saurez pas mauvais gré. . . .

“Madame Cleland n'est Angloise que de naissance, mais Françoisise par régénération, si je puis me servir de ce terme. Si vous me demandez par hasard pourquoi elle m'a choisi pour son intro-

ducteur chez vous, et pourquoi elle a cru que je m'étois acquis ce droit là, je vous dirai naturellement que c'est moi qui en suis cause. En cela j'ai suivi l'exemple de la plupart des voyageurs, qui, à leur retour, se font valoir chez eux, par leurs prétendues liaisons avec tout ce qu'il y a de plus distingué chez les autres. Les rois, les princes, et les ministres, les ont toujours comblés de leurs graces, et moyennant ce faux étalage d'honneurs qu'ils n'ont point reçus, ils acquièrent souvent une considération qu'ils ne méritent point. J'ai vanté vos bontés pour moi, je les ai exagérées même s'il étoit possible, et enfin, pour ne vous rien cacher, ma vanité a poussé l'effronterie au point de me donner pour votre ami, favori, et enfant de la maison ; quand Madame Cleland m'a pris au mot, et m'a dit, 'Je vais bientôt en France : je n'y ambitionne rien tant que l'honneur de connoître Madame de Tencin ; vous qui êtes si bien là, il ne vous coûtera rien de me donner une lettre pour elle.' Le cas étoit embarrassant : car, après ce que j'avois dit, un refus auroit été trop choquant à Madame Cleland, et l'aveu que je n'étois pas en droit de la faire, trop humiliant pour mon amour propre ; si bien que je me suis trouvé réduit à risquer le paquet, et je crois même que je l'aurois fait, si je n'avois pas eu l'honneur de vous connoître du tout, plutôt que de me donner le démenti sur un article si sensible. . . .

“Je crois que vous me pardonnerez si je vous

supplie de faire mes complimens à M. de Fontenelle.”¹

In a letter to Mons. de Crebillon (le fils), 26 Août, he writes :

“Voltaire m’a récité l’année passée à Bruxelles plusieurs tirades de son “Mahomet,”² où j’ai trouvé de très beaux vers, et quelques pensées plus brillantes que justes ; mais j’ai d’abord vu qu’il en vouloit à Jesus Christ, sous le caractère de Mahomet, et j’étois surpris qu’on ne s’en fût pas aperçu à Lille, où elle fut représentée immé-

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 141. The reply of Madame de Tencin to this letter (dated October 22, 1742) contains some equally graceful compliments. “Je voudrois, Milord, que vous eussiez été témoin de la reception de votre lettre. Elle me fut remise par M. de Montesquieu au milieu de la société que vous connoissez. Ce que vous me dites de flatteur m’empêcha quelques momens de la montrer, mais l’amour propre trouve toujours le moyen d’avoir son compte. . . . La lettre fut donc lue, et ne le fut pas pour une fois. ‘Ce Milord se moque de nous!’ s’écria M. de Fontenelle, qui fut suivi des autres, ‘d’écrire en notre langue, mieux et plus correctment que nous. Qu’il se contente, s’il lui plait, d’être le premier homme de sa nation, d’avoir les lumières et la profondeur de génie qui la caractérisent ; et qu’il ne vienne point encore s’emparer de nos graces et de nos gentilleses!’— Les plaintes et les murmures de l’assemblée dureroient encore si après avoir convenu bien franchement de vos torts je ne m’étois avisée de rappeler les agrémens et la douceur de votre commerce. ‘Qu’il nous revienne donc!’ dirent-ils tous à la fois, ‘nous lui passerons alors d’avoir plus d’esprit que nous!’”— *Chesterfield’s Works*, edit. Mahon, v. p. 420.

² “Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophete,” was first performed at Lille in 1741, and afterward at Paris, 9 August, 1742, with great approbation. See “Œuvres de Voltaire,” tome iii. 122, edit. 1785.

diatement avant que j'y passasse. Même je trouvai à Lille un bon Catholique, dont le zèle surpassoit la pénétration, que étoit extrêmement édifié de la manière dont cet imposteur et ennemi du Christianisme étoit dépeint.

“Pour les scènes décousues, et les morceaux déplacés, si vous n'en voulez pas, vous ne voulez pas de Voltaire. Avec lui, il n'est pas question de son sujet, mais des pensées hardies, brillantes, et singulières qu'il veut donner au public, n'importe où ni comment.

“Passe encore pour cela ; il n'est pas le premier auteur qu'une imagination vive ait enlevé audessus de la raison et de la justesse ; mais ce que je ne lui pardonne pas, et qui n'est pas pardonnable, c'est tous les mouvemens qu'il se donne pour la propagation d'une doctrine aussi pernicieuse à la société civile que contraire à la religion générale de tous les pays.

“Je doute fort s'il est permis à un homme d'écrire contre le culte et la croyance de son pays, quand même il seroit de bonne foi persuadé qu'il y eût des erreurs, à cause du trouble et du désordre qu'il y pourroit causer ; mais je suis bien sûr qu'il n'est nullement permis d'attaquer les fondemens de la morale, et de rompre des liens si nécessaires, et déjà trop foibles pour retenir les hommes dans le devoir.”¹

In September, Lord Chesterfield was making

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 144.

some country visits, and writes to Lord Marchmont on the 8th September :

"I go to-morrow to Nugent's¹ for a week, from whence, when I return, I shall take up Pope at Twickenham the 19th, and carry him to the Duchess of Marlborough's at Windsor, in our way to Cobham's, where we are to be the 21st of this month. Should you happen to be at the Duchess of Marlborough's the 19th or 20th, it would be a pleasure, I dare say, to all who will be there those two days, and to none a more sensible one, than to

"Your most attached and faithful servant."²

How little personal ill-feeling there was between Lord Chesterfield and the late minister, notwithstanding their political differences, appears from a letter of Horace Walpole's :

"Lord Orford is come to town, and was at the king's levee to day ; the joy the latter showed to see him was very visible, all the new ministry came and spoke to him, and he had a long laughing conversation with my Lord Chesterfield, who is still in opposition."³

On the opening of the session, November 16th,

¹ Robert Nugent, afterward created Earl Nugent. He was a maternal ancestor of the last Duke of Buckingham.

² "Marchmont Papers," ii. p. 282.

³ Walpole to Mann, November 15, 1742.

in the debate on the motion for an address of thanks for the king's speech, Lord Chesterfield opposed it on the ground of insufficient information being given as to the foreign negotiations or military preparations, etc. The motion, however, passed without a division.¹

But the great object of attack upon the government at this time "was the measure of taking Hanoverian troops into British pay, which was so unpopular that many who pretended to be well-wishers to the Protestant succession, joined in the cry of 'no Hanoverian king.'"² Horace Walpole, writing to Mann on December 9th, says: "Tomorrow, we shall have a tougher battle on the sixteen thousand Hanoverians. Hanover is the word given out for this winter; there is a most bold pamphlet come out, said to be Lord Marchmont's, which affirms that in every treaty made since the accession of this family, England has been sacrificed to the interests of Hanover, and consequently insinuates the incompatibility of the two. Lord Chesterfield says, 'that if we have a mind effectually to prevent the Pretender from ever obtaining this crown, we should make him Elector of Hanover, for the people of England will never fetch another king from thence.'"³

The above suggestion as to the pamphlet seems

¹ 12 "Parl. Hist.," p. 843.

² Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. v. p. 89.

³ Walpole to Mann, vol. i. p. 218.

borne out by a letter from Lord Chesterfield to Lord Marchmont in the ensuing month, January 5th, in which he says :

“I send you the skeleton of a protest upon the Hanover troops ; it is truly a skeleton yet ; I beg you will give it flesh and colour, which nobody can do so well. It is a child which I am by no means fond of ; so pray use it with all the severity necessary for its good. Keep it by you a week ; insert, cut out what you think proper ; and return it me as unlike as possible to what it is now.”¹

On February 1st, in the debate on taking the Hanoverian troops in British pay, Earl Stanhope having moved for an address to advise and beseech the king to exonerate his people from those mercenaries who had been taken into the service without the consent of Parliament, Lord Chesterfield denounced the measure as the most pernicious that ever was advised, saying that the whole nation was more universally against this step than it ever was against any ; and that a negative on this motion would be the most melancholy thing he ever saw in Parliament. On this motion being rejected by a considerable majority, Lord Scarborough moved that the augmenting the British forces with sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops was a wise, useful, and necessary measure, which was also carried by a similar majority, and against

¹ “Marchmont Papers,” ii. p. 290.

which Lord Chesterfield made a vigorous protest.¹

In order to give further effect to their complaint that since the fall of Sir Rôbert Walpole there had been no reformation of the system ; that men only, and not measures, had been changed ; and especially for the purpose of attacking Lord Carteret, who favoured the king's Hanoverian partiality, — the opposition began a paper called *Old England*, of which Maty says that Lord Chesterfield owned himself to be the author of the first number ; and adds that "there can be no doubt that the third came from the same hand." The paper is said to have created considerable noise ; but at this distance of time, the following specimens will probably be thought more than a sufficient echo.

"Saturday, February 5, 1743. No. 1.

"All experience convinces me, that ninety men out of one hundred, when they talk of forming principles, mean no more than embracing parties, and when they talk of supporting their party, mean serving their friends, and the service of their friends implies no more than consulting self-interest. By this gradation, principles are fitted to party, party degenerates into faction, and faction is reduced to self. For this reason I openly de-

¹ 12 "Parl. Hist.," 1058 *et seq.*, 1189; Walpole to Mann, Feb. 2, 1743; Smollett, vol. iii. p. 99; Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. v. p. 90.

clare that I think no honest man will implicitly embrace any party, so as to attach himself to the persons of those who form it. I am firmly of opinion, that both in the last and present age, this nation might have been equally well served either by Whigs or Tories ; and if she was not, it was not because their principles were contrary to her interests, but because their conduct was inconsistent with their principles.

“To extend this view a little farther, I am entirely persuaded that, in the words, ‘our present happy establishment,’ the happiness mentioned there is that of the subjects ; and that, if the establishment should make the prince happy and the subjects otherwise, it would be very justly termed our present unhappy establishment. . . .

“I think there can be no treason equal to that of a minister who would advise his Majesty to sacrifice his great concerns to his little ones ; because, as I think his Majesty’s virtues have firmly riveted him in the hearts of his subjects, he is as sure of the crown of England as of the electorate of Hanover ; and therefore every measure in favour of the latter, in prejudice of the former, is the blackest treason, both against the king and the people. . . .

“I am now to speak of the motives for an undertaking of this kind : there are many, but some of them perhaps not quite so proper to be committed to the public. We have seen the noble fruits of

a twenty years' opposition blasted by the connivance and treachery of a few, who, by all ties of gratitude and honour, ought to have cherished and preserved them to the people ; but this disappointment ought to be so far from discouraging, that it should lend spirit and life to a new opposition. . . .

"They, who fell off upon the late turn, are of two sorts : such as were never suspected of having virtue to resist temptation, and such as were never thought of consequence enough to deserve it. . . .

"What a prospect must this nation have, if in the most decisive conjuncture, as to the liberties of Europe, the management of foreign concerns should fall into the hands of a person of the following character.

"A man,¹ who, when in the opposition, even his sincerity could never beget confidence, nor his abilities esteem ; whose learning is unrewarded with knowledge, and his experience with wisdom ; discovering a haughtiness of demeanour, without any dignity of character ; and possessing the lust of avarice, without knowing the right use of power and riches. His understanding blinded by his passions, his passions directed by his prejudices, and his prejudices ever hurrying into presumption ; impatient even of an equal, yet ever requiring the correction of a superior. Right as to general maxims, but wrong in the application ; and therefore always so intoxicated by the prospect of suc-

¹ Lord Carteret, then secretary of state.

cess, that he never is cool enough to concert the proper measures to attain it.

“JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.”

The next paper is of inferior merit, and the following extract is the most humourous part of it :

“*Old England,*
“or the *Constitutional Journal.*”

“Saturday, February 19, 1743. No. 3.

“As I foresee that this paper will occasion many questions, I shall here give the answers beforehand to such of them as occur to me, that the curious may know what they have to expect for the future.

“‘What is this new paper, this constitutional journal?’ says some solid politician, whose unerring judgment has never suffered him to stray out of the beaten road of facts and dates. ‘Has it matter and sound reasoning? or is it only a paper of wit and fancy for the amusement of the frivolous? Is it Whig or Tory, for or against the court? I will know a little more of it before I take it in.’ To this I answer and engage, that it shall have the most material of matter, and the most reasonable of reasoning. As to Whig and Tory, I know no real distinction between them; I look upon them as two brothers, who, in truth, mean the same thing, though they pursue it differently; and therefore, as Martia did in the like

case, I declare myself for neither, yet for both.¹ As to for, or against, the court, I only answer it shall be constitutional, and directed, with regard to the court, as Trajan desired his sword might be, for him, or against him, as he deserved it.

“ ‘Here is a new paper come out, I am told,’ says some vigorous minister. ‘It is treason, to be sure, but is it treason within or without the law? Can I get at it? I do not like the title on it, especially at this time.’ With humble submission I beg leave to assure his lordship that I shall not write treason, because I never think treason. This royal family has not a more faithful and loyal subject in the kingdom than myself; and if I may borrow an expression I have long admired, it is under this royal family alone that I think we can live free, and that I hope we are determined to live free.² His lordship shall most certainly never get at me till it is criminal to be an Englishman; should that ever happen, indeed, he may possibly have the satisfaction of condemning me to a wheel barrow in the mines of the Hartz.³

¹ The allusion appears to be to Marcia, the wife of —

“ Heroic, stoic Cato, the sententious,
Who lent his lady to his friend Hortensius.”

And, after the death of Hortensius, took her back again, so that she belonged to neither, yet to both. See Plutarch, and “Don Juan.”

² See *ante*, p. 125.

³ In the Electorate of Hanover.

“ ‘This Jeffrey Broadbottom, this *Constitutional Journal* is certainly levelled at us,’ says a conscious sullen apostate patriot¹ to his fallen brethren in the Pandæmonium.²

“JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.”

But the strongest opposition against the government was on the 15th and 22d February, respecting a bill for repealing certain duties on spirituous liquors, and on licenses for the same, and for laying other duties on spirituous liquors, and on licenses for retailing these liquors. These duties had been so high as to amount to a prohibition, and “though no license was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets. . . . The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the Crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take as the law had proved ineffectual; for it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since these heavy duties were imposed.” Lord Chesterfield

¹ Lord Bath.

² “This expression probably gave occasion to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to begin one of his best poems, called the ‘Pandæmonium,’ in which were speeches, or were to be, of the new ministers, late patriots. I think those of Lord Granville, Lord Bath, and Lord Sandys, were all that were finished. That fragment was either burnt by Sir Charles, or lost in his insanity.” — *Walpole’s MS. note.*

"attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule."¹

"The bill now under our consideration appears to me to deserve a much closer regard than seems to have been paid to it in the other House, through which it was hurried with the utmost precipitation, and where it passed almost without the formality of a debate; nor can I think that earnestness, with which some lords seem inclined to press it forward here, consistent with the importance of the consequences which may with great reason be expected from it. . . ." After urging that, as the bill was a money bill, there was no need of considering it in committee, he continued :

"To desire, therefore, my lords, that this bill may be considered in a committee, is only to desire that it may gain one step without opposition; that it may proceed through the forms of the House by stealth, and that the consideration of it may be delayed, till the exigencies of the government shall be so great, as not to allow time for raising the supplies by any other method.

¹ 12 "Parl. Hist.," 1191 *et seq.*, 1346. Smollett, iii. pp. 101-102. There are three reports in the "Parliamentary History" of this debate on the Spirituous Liquors Bill. First, from the *London Magazine*; secondly, notes from the Secker MS.; thirdly, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, compiled by Doctor Johnson. The last is the one adopted by Maty, and by Lord Mahon, and from which these extracts are taken. But though the sentiments and wit are no doubt Chesterfield's, the speech, as a whole, is Doctor Johnson's. See his own statements respecting these debates, in Boswell's "Life."

“By this artifice, gross as it is, the patrons of this wonderful bill hope to obstruct a plain and open detection of its tendency. They hope, my lords, that the bill shall operate in the same manner with the liquor which it is intended to bring into more general use; and that, as those who drink spirits are drunk before they are well aware that they are drinking, the effects of this law shall be perceived before we know that we have made it. Their intent is, to give us a dram of policy, which is to be swallowed before it is tasted, and which, when once it is swallowed, will turn our heads.

“But, my lords, I hope we shall be so cautious as to examine the draught which these state empirics have thought proper to offer us; and I am confident that a very little examination will convince us of the pernicious qualities of their new preparation, and show that it can have no other effect than that of poisoning the public.

“The law before us, my lords, seems to be the effect of that practice of which it is intended likewise to be the cause, and to be dictated by the liquor of which it so effectually promotes the use; for surely it never before was conceived, by any man entrusted with the administration of public affairs, to raise taxes by the destruction of the people. . . .

“To pretend, my lords, that the design of this bill is to prevent or diminish the use of spirits is

to trample upon common sense, and to violate the rules of decency as well as of reason. For when did any man hear that a commodity was prohibited by licensing its sale, or that to offer and refuse is the same action ?

“It is indeed pleaded, that it will be made dearer by the tax which is proposed and that the increase of the price will diminish the number of the purchasers ; but it is at the same time expected, that this tax shall supply the expense of a war on the Continent. It is asserted, therefore, that the consumption of spirits will be hindered ; and yet that it will be such as may be expected to furnish, from a very small tax, a revenue sufficient for the support of armies, for the reëstablishment of the Austrian family, and the repressing of the attempts of France.

“Our ministers will therefore have the same honour with their predecessors, of having given rise to a new fund, not indeed for the payment of our debts, but for much more valuable purposes, for the cheering of our hearts under oppression, and for the ready support of those debts which we have lost hopes of paying. They are resolved, my lords, that the nation, which no endeavours can make wise, shall, while they are at its head, at least be merry ; and since public happiness is the end of government, they seem to imagine that they shall deserve applause by an expedient, which will enable every man to lay his cares asleep, to

drown sorrow and lose in the delights of drunkenness both the public miseries and his own.

“Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of the Ten Commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous; because it would imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax? Is not this a reproach most justly thrown by Protestants upon the Church of Rome? Was it not the chief cause of the Reformation?”¹

¹ “You have, doubtless, considered the causes of that great event, and observed that disappointment and resentment had a much greater share in it than a religious zeal, or an abhorrence of the errors and abuses of popery.

“Luther, an Augustine monk, enraged that his order, and consequently himself, had not the exclusive privilege of selling indulgences, but that the Dominicans were let into a share of that profitable but infamous trade, turns reformer, and exclaims against the abuses, the corruption, and the idolatry, of the Church of Rome; which were certainly gross enough for him to have seen long before, but which he had at least acquiesced in, till what he called the rights, that is the profit, of his order came to be touched. It is true, the Church of Rome furnished him ample matter for complaint and reformation, and he laid hold of it ably. This seems to me the true cause of that great and necessary work; but whatever the cause was, the effect was good, and the Reformation spread itself by its own truth and fitness; was conscientiously received by great numbers in Germany and other countries, and was soon afterward mixed up with the politics of princes; and, as it always happens in religious disputes, became the specious covering of injustice and ambition.” — *Letter to his son, April 26, 1748.*

“Vous n’ignorez pas que cette grande révolution dans l’esprit

And will you follow a precedent which brought reproach and ruin upon those that introduced it? This is the very case now before us. You are going to lay a tax, and consequently to indulge a sort of drunkenness, which almost necessarily produce a breach of every one of the Ten Commandments. Can you expect the reverend bench will approve of this? I am convinced they will not, and therefore I wish I had seen it full upon this occasion. I am sure I have seen it much fuller upon some other occasions in which religion had no such deep concern.

“We have already, my lords, several sorts of funds in this nation, so many that a man must have a good deal of learning to be master of them. . . . We have already the Civil List Fund, the Sinking Fund, the Southsea Fund, and God knows how many others. What name we are to give to this new fund, I know not, unless we are to call it the Drinking Fund. It may perhaps enable the people of a certain foreign territory to drink claret, but it will disable the people of this kingdom from drinking anything else but gin; for when a man has, by gin-drinking, rendered himself unfit for labour or business, he can purchase nothing else,

humain & dans le système politique de l'Europe commença par Martin Luther, moine augustin que ses supérieurs chargèrent de prêcher contre la marchandise qu'ils n'avaient pu vendre. La querelle fut d'abord entre les augustins & les dominicains.” — *Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. cxxviii.

and then the best thing he can do is to drink on till he dies.

“Surely, my lords, men of such unbounded benevolence as our present ministers deserve such honours as were never paid before: they deserve to bestride a butt upon every sign-post in the city, or to have their figures exhibited as tokens where this liquor is to be sold by the license which they have procured. They must be at least remembered to future ages, as the happy politicians who, after all expedients for raising taxes had been employed, discovered a new method of draining the last relics of the public wealth and added a new revenue to the government; nor will those who shall hereafter enumerate the several funds now established among us forget, among the benefactors to their country, the illustrious authors of the Drinking Fund. . . .

“Drunkenness, my lords, is universally and in all circumstances an evil; and therefore ought not to be taxed, but punished, and the means of it not to be made easy by a slight impost, which none can feel, but to be removed out of the reach of the people, and secured by the heaviest taxes, levied with the utmost rigour. I hope those, to whose care the religion of the nation is particularly consigned, will unanimously join with me in maintaining the necessity, not of taxing vice, but suppressing it, and unite for the rejecting of a bill, by which the future, as well as present, happiness of thousands must be destroyed.”

On the motion for committing the bill, it was resolved in the affirmative, ten bishops being against it; and when Lord Chesterfield saw them join in his division, it is reported that he said, "I doubt whether I have not got on the wrong side of the question; for I have not had the honour to divide with so many lawn sleeves for several years."¹

The House went into committee upon the bill on the 24th February, when Lord Chesterfield made his second speech against it,² in which, after dwelling at length upon the former topics, he is reported to have told the following story: "We have heard the necessity of reforming the nation by degrees urged as an argument for imposing first a lighter duty, and afterward a heavier. This complaisance for wickedness, my lords, is not so defensible as that it should be battered by arguments in form, and therefore, I shall only relate a reply made by Webb, the noted walker, upon a parallel occasion. This man, who must be remembered by many of your lordships, was remarkable for vigour, both of mind and body, and lived wholly upon water for his drink, and chiefly upon vegetables for his other sustenance. He was one day recommending his regimen to one of his friends who

¹ Maty, p. 121; Smollett, iii. p. 102.

² This second speech, as reported, has much less of the wit of Chesterfield, and much more of the style of Johnson, than the preceding one. — 12 *Parl. Hist.*, 1406.

loved wine, and who, perhaps, might somewhat contribute to the prosperity of this spirituous manufacture, and urged him, with great earnestness, to quit a course of luxury by which his health and his intellects would equally be destroyed. The gentleman appeared convinced, and told him 'that he would conform to his counsel, but thought he could not change his course of life at once, and would leave off strong liquors by degrees.' 'By degrees!' says the other, with indignation; 'if you should unhappily fall into the fire, would you caution your servants not to pull you out but by degrees?' . . .

"The ready compliance of the Commons, with the measures proposed in this bill, has been mentioned here with a view, I suppose, of influencing us; but, surely by those who had forgotten our independence, or resigned their own. It is not only the right, but the duty of either House, to deliberate, without regard to the determinations of the other; for how should the nation receive any benefit from the distinct powers that compose the legislature, unless the determinations are without influence upon each other? If either the example or authority of the Commons can divert us from following our own convictions, we are no longer part of the legislature; we have given up our honours, and our privileges; and what then is our concurrence but slavery, or our suffrage but an echo? . . .

“When I consider, my lords, the tendency of this bill, I find it calculated only for the propagation of diseases, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. I find it the most fatal engine that ever was pointed at a people; an engine by which those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their limbs will be deprived of their senses.

“This bill therefore appears to be designed only to thin the ranks of mankind, and to disburden the world of the multitudes that inhabit it, and is perhaps the strongest proof of political sagacity that our new ministers have yet exhibited. They well know, my lords, that they are universally detested, and that, whenever a Briton is destroyed, they are freed from an enemy; they have therefore opened the flood-gates of gin upon the nation, that, when it is less numerous, it may be more easily governed. . . .

“For this purpose, my lords, what could have been invented more efficacious than an establishment of a certain number of shops, at which poison may be vended; poison so prepared as to please the palate, while it wastes the strength, and only kills by intoxication? From the first instance that any of the enemies of the ministry shall grow clamorous and turbulent, a crafty hireling may lead him to the ministerial slaughter-house, and ply him with their wonder-working liquor, till he is no longer able to speak or think;

and, my lords, no man can be more agreeable to our ministers than he that can neither speak nor think, except those who speak without thinking.”¹

In consequence of an appeal by a Mr. Tucker to the House of Lords, by which a judgment of the Court of King’s Bench that he should be ousted from the mayoralty of Weymouth was affirmed, a bill was brought in “for further quieting and establishing corporations;” and in the debate on the 7th March, Lord Chesterfield spoke in favour of it, but the bill was lost.²

On the 21st April the king put an end to the session, and in his speech to both Houses informed them that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine, for the support and assistance of her Majesty; that he had continued a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the West Indies, in order to carry on the great work of distressing the Spaniards, and reducing them to safe and honourable terms of peace, as well as of maintaining the rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his subjects.³ And shortly after the prorogation of Parliament, the king set out for Germany, taking with him the Duke of Cumberland, Lord

¹ The bill was passed, and Lord Chesterfield’s name appears first on the protest. — 12 *Parl. Hist.*, p. 1439.

² 13 “*Parl. Hist.*,” pp. 44–99.

³ 13 “*Parl. Hist.*,” p. 100.

Carteret, and others, and arrived at the camp early in June.¹

At the battle of Dettingen, which was fought at the end of that month, the king and the Duke of Cumberland behaved with great gallantry. The king's horse ran away with him, and nearly carried him into the French lines, but was stopped in time, after which the king dismounted, and fought on foot at the head of his Hanoverian troops, freely exposing himself to all the heat of the enemy's fire. It was reported that the Hanoverian officers had refused to obey the orders of the Earl of Stair, who proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached in pursuit of the French, but his advice was overruled; and subsequently, the earl, believing himself slighted in consequence of the king's Hanoverian partialities, presented a memorial to his Majesty, in which he asked permission to retire, as he expressed it, to his plough, giving for reason of his quitting, that not one plan of operation that he had offered had been accepted.²

The army having gone into winter quarters in Flanders, the king returned to England in November; and notwithstanding the unsettled state of the ministry, and the popular discontents created by exaggerated reports concerning the expenses,

¹ Walpole to Mann, 14 April and June 10, 1743.

² Walpole to Mann, September 17, 1743; Smollett, iii. 110; Mahon, "History of England," III. ch. xxv.

as well as the conduct of the Hanoverians, his Majesty was received with unexpected enthusiasm.¹ "We were in great fears of his coming through the city, after the treason that has been publishing these two months; but it is incredible how well his reception was beyond what it had ever been before: in short, you would have thought that it had not been a week after the victory at Dettingen. They almost carried him into the palace on their shoulders, and at night the whole town was illuminated and bonfired."²

The session was opened on 1st December, when the king announced the success of the British arms in conjunction with the Queen of Hungary, whose dominions had been entirely evacuated by her enemies; and that he had concluded a treaty between himself, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia, which would be conducive to the interests of the kingdom. Lord Berkeley moved the address of thanks, and in the debate³

¹ "There is no determination yet come about the treasury. Most people wish for Mr. Pelham; few for Lord Carteret; none for Lord Bath. My Lady Townshend said an admirable thing the other day to this last: he was complaining much of a pain in his side; 'Oh!' said she, 'that can't be; you have no side.'" — *Walpole to Mann, July 19th*. "The disgusts about Hanover swarm and increase every day. The king and duke have left the army, which is marching to winter quarters in Flanders." — *Walpole to Mann, October 12th*.

² Walpole to Mann, November 17, 1743.

³ The only speakers were Lord Chesterfield and Lord Carteret, "who was reckoned to get the better of Lord Chesterfield."

Lord Chesterfield harangued against it in his usual manner, saying that he spoke not to their ears or their passions, but to their discernment, expressing his hope "that they who thus generously offered the treaty, would shake out the green bag¹ before us to show that no secret articles are concealed in its bottom." He distinguished between the king's behaviour and his conduct: the former was his own, intrepid and full of dignity, the latter his minister's, which deserved not approbation.²

The Hanoverian campaign was now entered upon in both Houses. In the Lords, on December 9th, Lord Sandwich moved an address to the king "that the sixteen thousand Hanoverians now in the pay of Great Britain be no longer continued after the 25th inst.," the term for which they were granted, "to prevent the heartburnings and jealousies which have arisen in the minds of his Majesty's subjects at home and his British forces abroad."

In the debate that ensued, Lord Carteret assured the House that he never heard, during the time of his being in the camp, that a Hanoverian officer had refused to obey Lord Stair's orders. He was confident that noble lord had never complained of it to the king (as it was his duty to

¹ The green velvet bag in which the secretaries of state carried their papers.

² 13 "Parl. Hist.," p. 102.

have done), and thence inferred it was impossible to be true. Lord Chesterfield appears to have greatly distinguished himself.¹ In rallying Lord Carteret, he said: "It is pretty odd that the noble lord did not hear of a fact so well known in the camp to be true, but really, at this distance, it is not easy to tell with whom he might wholly converse; it might be with those (the Germans) from whom it was not to be expected he should hear it."²

¹ "I was there, and heard Lord Chesterfield make the finest oration I ever did hear." — *Walpole to Mann, December 15, 1743*. "Lord Chesterfield's performance was much cried up, but few of his admirers can distinguish the faults of his eloquence from its beauties." — *MS. Journal of Philip Yorke, 13 Parl. Hist.*, p. 276.

² 13 "Parl. Hist.," 275. The motion was rejected by seventy-one to thirty-six, and thereupon a protest was entered, in which it was stated: "We are of opinion that such jealousies and animosities have arisen and will continue between the troops of Great Britain and those of Hanover that they can no longer act together without evident danger of the most pernicious and fatal consequences." And in the last paragraph, which is stated to be exactly the same with the conclusion of Lord Chesterfield's speech: "Because we know there are partialities almost inseparable from human nature, and blameless in themselves, when acting within their proper bounds, which yet must have a most fatal influence, if encouraged to mix themselves with the affairs of this nation, either in the council or in the camp; and we do, from our souls, scorn and abominate that most abject and criminal adulation, which either gives way to, or inflames such partialities, in prejudice to the national honour and interest of our country: we therefore thought it necessary, to enter those our reasons against the further continuance of these mercenaries, which, for one campaign only, have already cost this nation near £70,000, and which appear to us to have been, in many

On January 25th, Lord Chesterfield moved for an address to the king for the separate articles relating to the treaty concluded between his Majesty, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia, at Worms on the 2d September, 1743; but after a short debate, the motion was lost.¹

On January 27th, the question of discontinuing the Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain was again brought forward by Lord Sandwich, and supported by Lord Chesterfield,² who proposed an amendment by inserting the words "after the 25th of March next." But the amendment was lost; and on January 31st the subject was resumed by Lord Sandwich moving, "That the continuance of the sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain was prejudicial to the interest of the king," when Lord Chesterfield again dwelt on the danger and uselessness of employing these particular troops, and on the indignities the English suffered from them, saying that the "crown of three kingdoms was shrivelled beneath an electoral cap."³

But these internal disputes were suspended by instances, disobedient to British orders, and utterly incompatible with British troops: that as our votes have, we hope, proved us to the present age, our names in the books may transmit us to posterity Englishmen."

¹ Yorke's Journal, 13 "Parl. Hist.," 504.

² 13 "Parl. Hist.," 505.

³ 13 "Parl. Hist.," 556.

an event which united both parties in resistance to the common danger which suddenly threatened from abroad. The French government, encouraged by the popular clamours against the Hanoverians, were induced to undertake an invasion of Great Britain in favour of Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, "a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue." ¹

Count de Saxe, the most active of the French generals, was appointed to command this expedition, consisting of fifteen thousand men, assembled for embarkation at Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Calais.²

¹ Smollett, *iii.* p. 122.

² Maty, p. 129. "It is even said that he had taken a trip to London in the course of the winter, and had concerted the plan of operations with the disaffected here." Upon this passage Walpole says: "A person came to Sir R. W., then Earl of Orford, and told him that he had that morning, at eight o'clock, met Marshal Saxe coming out of St. James's Park, near the Friary. Lord Orford, ever apprehensive of France and the Jacobites, from having so long had the best intelligence of their designs, easily believed the story, the person asserting his perfect knowledge of the marshal's person, that was too gigantic and remarkable to be mistaken. Lord Orford immediately acquainted the king's ministers with what he had heard, but they

On February 15th, the king sent messages to both Houses that he had received intelligence of the designed invasion, in concert with the disaffected here. The danger was met promptly and resolutely. The Duke of Marlborough moved for an address to assure the king of standing by him with lives and fortunes. The Earl of Stair, laying aside his wrongs, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle offering his services, and was declared general of the forces.¹ The Earl of Orford, who had never spoken in the House of Lords, — roused by the apathy of the ministry in neglecting to take notice of some information which had been laid before them, — rose in the greatest agitation, and, in a long and eloquent speech, exhorted their lordships to forget their cavils and dissensions and to rally round the throne.²

treated it as a fable, though nothing was more credible than that Marshal Saxe, when at Calais, superintending his projected invasion, should have come to inspect the capital, and even the palace. Lord Orford died a few months before the rebellion, and often and often, the winter before, said, 'This crown will be fought for on English ground before a year is past.' — *MS. notes on Maty.*

¹ "This is very generous, and will be of great use. He is extremely beloved in the army, and most firm to this family." — *Walpole to Mann, Feb. 16, 1744.*

² *Walpole to Mann, March 1, 1744.*

"On this projected invasion he went to the House of Lords, and in a fine speech, reproached the ministers with their negligence. The Prince of Wales was there, and was so struck with his zeal, that though, on Lord Orford's resignation, and the prince's reconciliation with the king, he had refused to see the



Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle

From the original by Hoare





The country was, however, ill-prepared for defence ; but, by the fortune of the winds, which delayed the sailing of the French transports, time was gained for making preparations. Toward the end of February, while it was expected every hour that news would arrive of the landing of the French, Sir John Norris, with four and twenty sail, endeavoured to engage the French squadron, which consisted of only fourteen ; but a violent gale setting in from the northeast, carried the invaders back to the place from whence they came, with the result that several of their transports were driven ashore and destroyed, and obliged the whole number of their troops to debark ; and thus by a great storm was England again saved from invasion.¹

In the ensuing month, war was declared with France. A bill was brought in providing that the penalties on treasonable correspondence with the Pretender should extend to correspondence with his children ; and in the Upper House, on April 27th, the lord chancellor proposed two additional clauses : one, to attain the sons of the Pretender in case he should attempt to land ; the other, to extend the penalties of forfeiture to the children of those who might be convicted under the act, during the lives of the Pretender's sons likewise.

earl, he went up to him and thanked him, and gave him leave to wait on him." — *MS. notes on Maty.*

¹ Walpole to Mann, March 1, 5, 15, 1744. Smollett, iii. p. 125.

Lord Chesterfield spoke very strongly against it, arguing that as the act, the seventh of Queen Anne, was not to begin to take effect till after the death of the Pretender; that as he was, by report, a healthful, strong man, now about the age of fifty-five, and might live some twenty or thirty years, there could be no occasion for this clause at this time; and protested against it as a flagrant piece of injustice to punish the children by taking their estate from them on account of any crime committed by the father.¹ The clause was, however, carried by a large majority.

Lord Campbell condemns the measure, and commenting upon the lord chancellor's speech, says: "His most difficult point was to reconcile the postponement of the stipulated mitigation to the compact, entered into with Scotland, whereby the English law of treason was admitted into that country, on an express condition which was to be now violated, and he was obliged to resort to such quibbles² as, that 'it was not then fore-

¹ 13 "Parl. Hist.," pp. 704, 753, 822. The clause was also strongly opposed in the Commons. Walpole, writing to Mann, May 8, 1744, says: "The opposition had brought in a bill to make it treason to correspond with the young Pretenders; the Lords added a clause after a long debate, to make it forfeiture of estates, as it is for dealing with the father. We sat till one in the morning, and then carried it by 285 to 106. It was the best debate I ever heard."

² "What help from Jekyll's opiates canst thou draw,
Or Hardwicke's quibbles voted into law?"

— *Pope, 1740, A Poem.*

seen that the Pretender would have sons ;' that as he was in a green old age, and likely to live as long as them, the postponement was inconsiderable ; and that, if they had sons, a further postponement would be unnecessary, as in a few years, the title of the reigning family would be universally recognised. . . . The dread of attainder had no influence on the movements of Charles Edward, and if he had been captured, he must have been treated as a prisoner of war, for the voice of the whole world would have been raised against the meditated deed of executing him as a traitor. And the very fact of James the Third being then a healthy man, little turned of fifty, showed that by the proposed violation of the compact respecting the law of treason, odium was wantonly brought upon the reigning dynasty."¹

The above debate was the last in which Lord Chesterfield's name appears for a considerable time, as the session was closed on the 12th May, when the king stated that the French had made great preparations on the side of the Austrian Netherlands, and that the States-General had agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by our treaties.²

Pope, the greatest of our satirical poets, died on the 30th of this month. Lord Chesterfield, who

¹ "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," v. pp. 96-97.

² 13 "Parl. Hist.," p. 968 ; Smollett, iii. p. 127.

often visited him at Twickenham, has done full justice to his memory, "and imputed the asperity of his muse to the feelings of the poet, rather than to the natural disposition of the man."¹ In his character of him, Lord Chesterfield says: "Pope in conversation was below himself; he was seldom easy and natural, and seemed afraid that the man should degrade the poet, which made him always attempt wit and humour, often unsuccessfully, and too often unseasonably. I have been with him a week at a time at his house at Twickenham, where I necessarily saw his mind in its undress, when he was both an agreeable and instructive companion.

"His moral character has been warmly attacked, and but weakly defended, the natural consequence of his shining turn to satire, of which many felt, and all feared, the smart. It must be owned that he was the most irritable of all the *genus irritabile vatum*, offended with trifles, and never forgetting nor forgiving them; but in this I really think that the poet was more in fault than the man. He was as great an instance as any he quotes of the contrarieties and inconsistencies of human

¹ Maty, p. 133. "Whether this was not exactly the case, or that Lord Chesterfield could not resist a *bon mot* that presented itself, it did happen that when one of Pope's last satires was published, a gentleman, in the presence of Lord Chesterfield, said, he wondered nobody beat Pope for his abusiveness. Lord Chesterfield said, 'Sir, what is everybody's business, is nobody's business.' " — *Walpole's MS. note.*

nature ; for, notwithstanding the malignancy of his satires, and some blamable passages of his life, he was charitable to his power, active in doing good offices, and piously attentive to an old bed-ridden mother, who died but a little before him. His poor, crazy, deformed body was a mere Pandora's box, containing all the physical ills that ever afflicted humanity. This, perhaps, whetted the edge of his satire, and may in some degree excuse it.

"I will say nothing of his works ; they speak sufficiently for themselves ; they will live as long as letters and taste shall remain in this country, and be more and more admired, as envy and resentment shall subside. But I will venture this piece of classical blasphemy, which is, that, however he may be supposed to be obliged to Horace, Horace is more obliged to him."

And in a letter to the Baron de Kreuningen, he writes : "J'ose même dire à la face de tous les pédans de l'univers, que les épîtres et les satires de Pope ont tout le bon sens et toute la justesse, avec mille fois plus d'esprit que celles d'Horace."¹

By the death of another famous personage,² the wealthy and eccentric Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, Lord Chesterfield was enriched by

¹ "Letters," iv. p. 31, 7 Juillet, 1752.

² "Yesterday morning carried off those two old beldams, Sarah of Marlborough and the Countess Granville." — *Walpole to Mann, October 19, 1744.*

her legacy to him of £20,000, and the reversion of the Wimbledon estate, "out of the great regard she had for his merit, and the infinite obligations her Grace received from him,"¹ on account of his opposition to the ministry. That ministry, of which Lord Carteret, now become Earl Granville, by the death of his mother, was the head, was about to suffer a material change. For while his support of all Hanoverian measures had secured him the favour of the king, it had made him so unpopular with the nation, that the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham — the two brothers, as they were called — formed a political alliance with some members of the opposition, of which Lord Chesterfield was at the head, for the purpose of driving out the minister.²

The result was, that toward the close of this year Lord Granville was forced to resign, and an administration was formed consisting of Whigs and Tories, without distinction of parties, and ludicrously called "The Broad Bottom." In this coalition, Mr. Pelham became prime minister, with the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington as secretaries of state; and Lord Chesterfield, much against the king's inclination, was appointed Lord

¹ Maty, p. 134, who incorrectly places her death a month earlier.

² Maty, p. 137; Walpole to Mann, November 26th, and December 24th, 1744, for list of the changes; Smollett, iii. p. 144; Coxe, "Memoirs of Lord Walpole," chapter xxvi.

Lieutenant of Ireland. Before proceeding to take up that post, he was sent on a special mission as ambassador to The Hague. But with so little favour was his appointment viewed by the king, that his Majesty delayed receiving him in the closet until, the earl insisting upon an audience, it was at last granted. "You have received your instructions, my lord," were the only words the king spoke in answer to Lord Chesterfield's request to be honoured with his Majesty's commands.¹

He accordingly departed upon his embassy about the middle of January, 1745. Horace Walpole says: "Lord Chesterfield is set out for The Hague: I don't know what ear the States will lend to his embassy, when they hear with what difficulty the king was brought to give him a parting audience; and which, by a watch, did not last five and forty seconds."²

The States did lend a very willing ear, and his embassy was eminently successful. The object of it, and the course he pursued in it, are explained in the following letter to his son some years afterward, as an illustration of the importance of command of temper in business:³

"When I went to The Hague in 1744,⁴ it was

¹ Maty, p. 138.

² Walpole to Mann, January 14, 1745.

³ London, September 29, 1752. "Letters," ii. p. 297.

⁴ Lord Chesterfield should have said 1745, as this letter was written after the passing of his own act in 1751. But, at the

to engage the Dutch to come roundly into the war, and to stipulate their quotas of troops, etc.; your acquaintance, the Abbé de la Ville,¹ was there on the part of France, to endeavour to hinder them from coming into the war at all. I was informed, and very sorry to hear it, that he had abilities, temper, and industry. We could not visit, our two masters being at war; but the first time I met him at a third place, I got somebody to present me to him; and I told him, that though we were to be national enemies, I flattered myself we might be, however, personal friends; with a good deal more of the same kind, which he returned in full as polite a manner. Two days afterward I went, early in the morning, to solicit the deputies of Amsterdam, where I found l'Abbé de la Ville, who had been beforehand with me; upon which I addressed myself to the deputies,

time Lord Chesterfield went to The Hague, the civil, ecclesiastical, and legal year was reckoned, in England, as beginning on the 25th March, while in Holland the year began on the 1st January. Lord Chesterfield, therefore, in his letters from The Hague, uses the new style, while the Duke of Newcastle dates his letters according to the old style. This matter will be fully explained when we come to the Act for Reforming the Calendar.

¹ The Abbé de la Ville was born about the year 1690. He had been preceptor to the children of the Marquis de Fenelon during his embassy at The Hague, and in 1744 was appointed successor to the marquis in his diplomatic post, though with the inferior rank of envoy. Besides his abilities for business, he was distinguished in literature, and was elected in 1746 a member of the French Academy. He died in 1774.

and said, smilingly, 'Je suis bien fâché, messieurs, de trouver mon ennemi avec vous ; je le connois déjà assez pour le craindre ; la partie n'est pas égale, mais je me fie à vos propres intérêts contre les talens de mon ennemi ; et au moins si je n'ai pas eu le premier mot j'aurai le dernier aujourd'hui.' They smiled ; the abbé was pleased with the compliment, and the manner of it, stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then left me to my deputies, with whom I continued upon the same tone, though in a very serious manner, and told them that I was only come to state their own true interests to them, plainly and simply, without any of those arts, which it was very necessary for my friend to make use of to deceive them. I carried my point, and continued my *procédé* with the abbé ; and by this easy and polite commerce with him, at third places, I often found means to fish out from him whereabouts he was."

The following extracts from the correspondence between Lord Chesterfield and the secretaries of state will show in sufficient detail the steps by which our ambassador proceeded in fulfilling the purpose of his embassy, notwithstanding the ill-favour on the part of the king, and the difficult position he occupied owing to the want of union amongst the government in England. But these letters also display his diplomatic courtesy and kindness, his zeal for his friend Doctor Chenevix, his independence of character, and resolution rather

to throw up his post than to suffer any indignity in connection with it; and the curious combination of assiduous devotion to the duties of his office, with the longing to be again free from its trammels.

The Duke of Newcastle, writing to Lord Chesterfield, 22d January, 1744-5, informs him of the death of the Bishop of Derry, and asks him to agree to the recommendation on the part of the Duke of Devonshire that the Bishop of Kildare should go to Derry, and the Bishop of Dromore to Kildare, so that he would have the bishopric of Dromore to dispose of as he thinks proper.

"I am sorry I cannot send your lordship an account that our affairs mend on this side of the water. Good news from you may do a great deal; but at present, we don't at all advance. . . . Mr. Pitt, who has not yet been abroad, comes out on Friday, the day that the estimate for the English troops in Flanders comes on; and will act with that resolution, firmness, and spirit which is so natural to him, and I am sure will be approved by your lordship.

"I cannot say too much in commendation of both his and Mr. Lyttelton's behaviour, who, as they are sincerely connected to you, act in everything as your lordship would do. . . .

"I hope this will find your lordship safely and happily arrived at The Hague; where I am sure your presence will be of the utmost service to this

country, and all Europe. If a calm can be struck out from the present distraction, I am sure you will do it. If not, nobody will be so well able as yourself to unite and reconcile the different parties in the republic, and the several powers that do, or ought to, compose our alliance, to the necessary measures for carrying on the war with vigour, in order to obtain a peace.

“If you have any commands here, I shall be proud to be honoured with them.”

In answer to the above letter Lord Chesterfield writes to the Duke of Newcastle, February 5th, N. S.: “The post from hence is going out just as I receive the honour of your Grace’s letter, so that I must be short; but I would not delay a moment signifying my chearfull obedience to your commands with regard to my Irish department; I am, therefore, very desirous that the Bishop of Kildare, whom I know a little and by reputation esteem very much, should be translated to the bishopric of Derry, and am very willing that the Bishop of Dromore should succeed him at Kildare. As for the bishopric of Dromore and the other preferments, whatever they are, that may become vacant by these translations, I should be desirous to have ’em kept open a little while till I am fully inform’d of all particulars. As it is not possible for me to write to-night to the Dukes of Devonshire and Dorset, from both whom I have receiv’d letters, as well as from the Bishop of Kildare him-

self, may I beg of your Grace to say to all three (only much better) what if I could have writt to 'em myself to-night I should have said."¹

The Duke of Newcastle, writing to Lord Chesterfield, February 8, 1744-5, expresses his satisfaction at finding that "the expectations we had that affairs in Holland would take a better turn from your weight and influence upon the minds of the people there than they have of late done will not be disappointed. The principle upon which your lordship has effected this alteration seems the only one upon which you could have promised yourself success; viz., the necessity of making our utmost efforts this campaign, in order to obtain a peace at the end of it. In this view you may depend upon our coöperating with you thoroughly on this side of the water, and that we will take care fully to enable you to answer any expectation you shall think proper to give.

"For this purpose we had last night a meeting with the Duke of Bedford, Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower, where everything went very well, and the necessity of augmenting forthwith our army in Flanders to forty thousand men was cordially and unanimously agreed, on condition the Dutch will engage to have the same number at least to bring into the field early this campaign. . . . It is hoped and expected that some assurance in writing may be given by the Dutch of the num-

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,704, ff. 24, 34.

ber of troops to be furnished by them, and of the time they will be ready to take the field, or otherwise we may be under a difficulty in augmenting so considerably our contingent. . . . There is only one contretemps that comes very unluckily across us. Everything was settled here for my Lord Stair to go to Flanders, and he would have set out very soon ; and, indeed, I was the more desirous of it, not only as I was persuaded he was the best that could be sent, but that my Lord Cobham was perfectly satisfied with it, and that Lord Stair's going to Flanders would remove the difficulty between the two generals here at home. But the promising or giving the supreme command to Marshal Königseg¹ will, I am afraid, make it impracticable for Lord Stair to go. At least he seems determined not to go upon that foot. . . . Mr. Pitt's behaviour requires all the returns that gratitude and a concern for our own situation and that of the publick can demand. One can only want to know him as well as your lordship does to admire him as much. We cannot forget the obligation we have to your lordship on his account as well as your own. . . . I think things here rather mend. Your lordship's success in Holland will be the surest means of bringing about a real alteration. I am not surprised that they know at The Hague exactly our situation.

¹*Sic* in MS. and in Walpole's letters ; but Kônigseck, as written by Chesterfield, seems to be the correct form.

The ill consequences of which in Holland could have been stem'd by nothing but your presence ; and if the pensionary thinks upon your lordship's subject and ours here, as (without vanity) if he thinks rightly for his own country he must do, a proper hint now and then to Mons^r Hop would have a good effect. . . . Lord Stair's nomination is become very doubtful.

"P. S. I should have thank'd your lordship sooner for your letter of the 5th and your great goodness to my friend, the Bishop of Kildare. I have desired Mr. Liddell to write to your lordship by this post as to the form of carrying your kind intentions into execution."¹

In a letter to Lord Harrington, February 21, N. S., 1745, Lord Chesterfield says: "I thought the keeping of the Dutch ships an object of consequence enough to give in yesterday the enclosed memorial to the States General, with the report of the lords of the admiralty translated and annexed. But I am far from saying, and it may be from hoping, that it will have any effect, for the word Necessity is the answer to everything I ask. It is really true that all their admiralties together cannot fit out another ship in the world ; but it is as true, too, that this necessity is owing to that long ill conduct and those inveterate abuses which have near destroyed, and if they go on, as I think they are much more likely to do than to be re-

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 38,804, f. 210.

formed, will soon totally ruin this republic. . . . ” After saying that the princess royal and the Prince of Orange had arrived, and expressing his hope that the prince would accept of the commission of general of the Foot: “I do my utmost to prevail with him, but I much doubt of my success. I will venture to say he is very ill advised if he does not, both for his own private and the public interest.”

“The appointing the Prince of Waldeck to command in chief the Dutch forces this year has disgusted many of the old generals here ; but in truth they are such as are much better disgusted than employed. This choice is approved of by everybody else. They have chosen him here as a spirited mettled officer, fit for the action and vigour which they intend and hope for this campaign. General Cronstrom said beforehand that he would quit, but has since begged to be employed ; Ginkel talks in the same way, but I dare say will act in the same manner. Pretorius, I really believe, will quit this service.”¹

In a letter to Lord Chesterfield, February 22d, 1744-5, the Duke of Newcastle states that the two difficulties to be overcome were that the two armies on the Lower Rhine should coöperate with and mutually assist each other ; and that his Majesty should promise to act in his electoral capacity, and furnish a contingent, *eo nomine*,

¹ “ Letters,” iii. p. 151.

toward the support of the common cause ; that Count Konigseg was to have the command, and the duke to have the nominal command of the whole, though really only commanding the English contingent.

On February 23d, N. S., Lord Chesterfield writes to Lord Harrington : "The greffier has just now brought me a resolution of the States in answer to my memorial about the ships. . . .

"The substance is to insist upon having ten of their ships back again, to serve for convoys to their fleets of merchantmen. I have not agreed to it, but I fear his Majesty must, or else he will run the risk of losing them all. For they are so set upon this that I think them very capable of recalling the whole twenty, if the ten are refused them. But I think it should be understood that in consideration of his Majesty's consent to part with one half, that he may absolutely depend upon the continuance of the other half, properly victualled and fit for any service he may think proper to employ them in. As they want these ships to protect their trade against the French, I have taken this occasion to ask them what they get by not declaring war against France, since France in effect has declared it against them? And what they could lose by declaring it, if their trade is equally interrupted? But arguments have little weight in the present anarchy, and without returning any, their answer

is they can't, because they can't, or they won't because they won't." ¹

As an instance of Lord Chesterfield's diplomacy, he writes on February 26th, N. S., to Lord Harrington, soliciting promotion for one Mr. Lewis Oury, a lieutenant of Invalids in Jersey: "He is brother to Madame Van-haren, the wife to the celebrated Monsieur Van-haren, of Frise, who is a most active, able, and well-intentioned member of this government; but who, being of a very violent temper, is as easily angered as pleased. His wife, that is himself (for he married her for love and has the surprising good fortune of being in love with her still), solicited me strongly to recommend him to his Majesty's favour for a company of Invalids in Jersey or Guernsey, or any other promotion that his Majesty shall think proper. I could not refuse recommending this to your lordship to lay before his Majesty; for though the promotion of Mr. Oury may in itself be very insignificant, I am sure it will extremely oblige Monsieur Van-haren, and the disappointment I fear may equally offend him." ²

In a letter to Lord Harrington, March 5th, N. S., in which he says he finds that Lord Stair was to have commanded in Flanders, but that the command given to Count Königseck has ob-

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 153.

² "Letters," iii. p. 154.

structed that affair: "I hope I have not been to blame in concurring with the States in their offer of that command to Field-Maréchal Königseck, which I should not have done so readily, had I not known from your lordship that his Majesty had thought of that general in failure of Prince Charles, and that his Majesty's intentions had been communicated to him, as appeared by his letter to Monsieur Wasner, which your lordship showed me. As to the dispute of command, or other difficulties of that nature, I am an utter stranger to them; but I took it for granted then, and do still, that Count Königseck could never be thought of in any other light than as commander-in-chief of the whole combined army, and not as commander only of the few Austrian forces that may make a small part of it; and by a letter I have seen from Count Königseck to Baron Reischach, I find he understands it so too himself. From all which, I don't see what new difficulty can have arisen concerning Lord Stair, that was not to be expected from the very first nomination of Field-Maréchal Königseck. If I have done anything wrong in this affair, I must only beg his Majesty's pardon, it having been merely an error of ignorance; for if in his Majesty's service I could be influenced by any other motive, it would have been by my regard and long friendship for Lord Stair. I must beg your lordship will manage me in the

invidious part which I am so unwillingly obliged to take in this affair.”¹

Writing to the Duke of Newcastle, March 5th, N. S., Lord Chesterfield says: “After having read and writt for fourteen hours this day without intermission, I have very little time and as little power left to trouble your Grace. I have acknowledged your letter² by a postscript to your brother; but having seen the pensionary since, I can’t help telling you by this post, he will do what you mention’d, and will repeat the dose occasionally. By your thinking it will be of use, I hope things mend. I never meant to exclude Lord Harrington from our private correspondence, and I mention’d at first the four³ to your brother, meaning him and the chancellor. He might have been examin’d about separate letters to him; the others I knew would not.”

On March 10th, N. S., Lord Chesterfield, alluding to the state of affairs in England, in answer to a letter from the Duke of Newcastle, says: “That I am not the king’s [minister] is pretty well known here already, and if you are only his servants and not his ministers, I am not the minister of his ministry neither, which will soon be known here too. Your Grace says, and very

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 155.

² *Ante*, pp. 250–253.

³ Meaning Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Harrington, and Lord Hardwicke.

truly, that the king's servants must be his ministers exclusive of all others or they cannot remain his servants, but give me leave to say that if you do not bring that matter to a decision before the Parliament rises, you will certainly be neither after it is up. Your strength is in Parliament, and you must use it while you have it. The unanimity you have procured there, far from recommending you in the closet, is us'd as an argument against you there; and somebody is told; since they can do what they will there, make 'em do what you will. It is therefore surely time to show the person who suggests that argument that as you can do what you will there, you will do what he won't like."¹

On March 9th, N. S., Lord Chesterfield writes to the Duke of Newcastle: "I snatch what little time I have, and God knows that is little enough, to answer more fully than I could by the last post the honour of your Grace's letter of the 8th February, O. S. As to the number of men the Dutch will bring into the field, I will answer for above forty, I may say five and forty thousand men, in case it be prudent to do so, and that I suppose is all you would desire, I explain myself: They destine upwards of sixty thousand men for the service of the war in Flanders, out of which whatever number is proper, shall take the field. If

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,804, f. 226.

the army is strong enough to advance before, and consequently protect the frontier towns, they will leave very small garrisons in those towns and have so many more men in the field, but if on the contrary we cannot advance, and that those towns must defend themselves, the garrisons must necessarily be greater, and consequently the number of men in the field less. And therefore I do not very well see that they can or that we should desire 'em specifically to stipulate the number of men in the field, which from the reason I have mention'd must be eventuell, but I should think it would be more proper and practicable for 'em to give in writing the number of men to be employ'd in the actual service of the war in Flanders.

“This I can further assure your Grace of that they are as much determin'd to act with vigour as you could wish 'em to be, and as they are determin'd that it shall be their last effort, they are determin'd too that it shall be a strong one. . . . I am very sorry my Lord Stair is angry about Count Königseck, and I know he is particularly angry at me, having been told by Lord Carteret that he might thank his friend Chesterfield for this disappointment. . . . However, I confess I am glad it is to be Count Königseck, whom I look upon to be without exception the ablest general now in Europe. . . .

“My head is really quite confounded both with

the quantity and quality of what I have now to go through." ¹

In answer to the above, the Duke of Newcastle writes on March 5, 1744-5: ² "Nothing can be more comfortable than the account you give of the efforts the Dutch intend to make this year, especially in Flanders, and without a compliment, I cannot but think it is much owing to the right way in which you have managed them. I hope we shall do our best to second them. Nothing will tend so much toward it as the appointment of the duke to command in Flanders, who will, I believe, be made captain-general of all his Majesty's forces. I shall long to hear how our friends in Holland, and Count Königseck, take it. I will pawn my credit that the duke shall do his part, and you may answer for him to Count Königseck. . . . As to Lord Stair, whether he will continue in the command here, I know not: he often talks of giving it up, but as yet has not done it. He was at first, I believe, displeased with you, but since seems to have turned his resentment elsewhere."

In another letter, of March 10th, N. S., to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield says: "Count Königseck and Prince Waldeck arrived

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,804, f. 239.

² In looking at these dates, the difference of the old and new style must be borne in mind: otherwise, the answer appears to be written before the letter which it answers.

here yesterday, and I shall now press this government to come to some precision upon the several points of my instructions, but with what success as to many of 'em, I cannot say. This only I can and will say: that you must take these people as you can get 'em this year, and have nothing to do with 'em the next. They cannot, they will not go on another year. . . . I own everything makes me pant for the quiet and comfort of a private life, which I think I am in a fair way of being soon restored to. This persuasion makes me send you sooner than I otherwise should have done a letter in form for some Irish ecclesiastical promotions. I mean the Bishop of Chlonfert for the see of Dromore, and Doctor Chenevix for that of Chlonfert.¹ He has been my chaplain these sixteen years, was recommended to me by Scarborough, was chaplain to the princess royal, and is now most strongly recommended to me by her for this preferment. The bishopric is but a poor one, and the man is so poor too that I should really be unhappy if, by neglecting this opportunity, it should afterward, as probably it may, be out of my power to help him."²

Writing upon this subject to Doctor Chenevix on March 12th, N. S., Lord Chesterfield says: "I put nothing at top of this letter, not knowing whether the familiar appellation of 'dear doctor'

¹ *Sic* in MS.

² "Newcastle Papers," 32,804, f. 246.

would now become me ; because I hope that, by the time you receive this letter, you will be, as it were, my Lord of Chlonfert. I have the pleasure of telling you, that I have this day recommended you to the king, for the bishopric of that name, now vacant by the translation of its last bishop to the see of Kildare. I hope my recommendation will not be refused, though I would not swear for it ; therefore, do not absolutely depend upon your consecration, and stay quietly where you are till you hear further from me. I assure you, I expect few greater pleasures in the remainder of my life than that I now feel in rewarding your long attachment to me, and, what I value still more, your own merits and virtues.

“Yours sincerely.”¹

In answer to the above application in favour of Doctor Chenevix, the Duke of Newcastle, writing on March 12, 1744-5, respecting affairs at home, says : “*Tout va de mal en pis*, and so it will continue till some resolution is taken. When it will be, or what it will be, I cannot possibly determine, but some resolution must be taken, and that soon.

“I laid the affair of the Irish bishops before the king, and supported the recommendation for supplying the vacancy, not only in the best manner I could, but with the authority of the old

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 157.

lords lieutenants now here. Nothing goes glib, and so that is not yet done.”¹

Another instance of Lord Chesterfield's diplomacy occurs in the following letter to the Duke of Newcastle, of March 20th, N. S. : “Mr. Van de Poll's son of Amsterdam goes to England by the next packett boat. Hop will present him at court and to your Grace. I beg you will let Chloe stuff him once or twice, and let him know that I procur'd him the stuffing. I wish he could have a word said to him when presented; his father is the ruling man of Amsterdam, he had a French tendency, but I have been pulling at him ever since I have been here, and with some success. He is very able and very proud. Pray tell the son the great regard I have for his father, and that I have assur'd your Grace of his abilities and his zeal for the common cause.”²

The following letters are important and thoroughly characteristic of the writer. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on March 23d, N. S., Lord Chesterfield says: “The duke's affair is as well here as we could wish it; there were odd difficulties at first; they are not only remov'd, but even he shall have the command given him voluntarily, without its having been once ask'd. Maréchal Königseck took the thing most *galamment* the

¹ “Newcastle Papers,” 32,804, f. 257.

² “Newcastle Papers,” 32,804, f. 249. As to Chloe, the Duke of Newcastle's French cook, see *ante*, p. 191.

moment I mention'd it to him : therefore for God's sake let the duke be advis'd to act in the same manner toward him ; and I will venture to say that his Highness cannot acquire more glory by any one thing this campaign than by implicitly conforming himself to the maréchal's instructions. He is, I think, the most amiable man I ever knew, and in everything he says or does here shows a most superior understanding. I hope no cabal of English officers will suggest to the duke the least contradiction, or if they do, that it will not have any effect.'

"Next week, I hope to have finished the convention with the States for the respective proportions of troops, artillery, contingent expenses, and future subsidys. And then I shall have done all I can do here. . . . I would therefore submit it in time to your Grace's consideration how much longer you would have me stay here, I mean within a month or six weeks more or less, in which I would entirely conform to whatever you or your friends may think most convenient for yourselves. But in all events it is impossible for me to stay here after the king shall have left England ; the reasons are too obvious to be mentioned. Another

¹ The duke was at that time too young to have more than the nominal command. Walpole, writing to Mann, March 4th, says : "The duke, you hear, is named generalissimo, with Count Koningseg, Lord Dunmore, and Ligonier under him. Poor boy ! He is most Brunswickly happy with his drums and trumpets."

thing which I think it necessary to give your Grace notice of beforehand is: that when I do return to England, though I neither expect nor desire favour, I will not be mark'd out by indignity. So that if I am treated in a certain way, you must not be surpris'd or displeas'd if I quitt. You shall prescribe the manner of my doing it, which is the only sacrifice I can make you where my honour is so nearly concern'd. I do not mean by this to be us'd better than the rest of you, but only that I will not be us'd worse. And I assure you at the same time, that should I be restor'd to my private life, I shall not be less zealous, nor it may be less able, to serve you and your friends, for no man living can be with more truth and respect than I am,

“Your Grace's, etc.

“P. S. I have just now finished the agreement with the States, as to the several proportions. After so much wrangling and such twopenny cavils on their part that I did not expect to have concluded yet of some days, and was a little surpris'd at their agreement to-day. In one respect I have made a better bargain than I expected, for I have brought 'em up to a third part of the whole expense of the artillery as well as of everything relative to sieges. Whereas I feared they would not have exceeded a fourth. As to the casuall expenses and contingents of the war, which

is but a small object when the whole expense of sieges is deducted, I have contented myself with one-fourth, which was the utmost I could get, as well as of future subsidys. The whole is to be put in the form of a resolution of the States . . . which I like better than a convention, it being equally decisive and obligatory. Whereas a convention must have been sent to the provinces, which would have taken a great deal of time in itself, not to mention the various alterations and silly objections it would have been expos'd to from those ingenious knights of the shires. . . . Though I have made the best bargain I could, I am very sensible I have made but a bad one. And to obviate as far as I could the ill consequences it might otherwise have had hereafter, I have inserted a clause in the resolution, that none of the stipulated proportions shall ever be urged as precedents after the present war. I look upon my business here as finish'd except some little details to be adjusted in consequence of these general stipulations." ¹

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, March 30th, N. S., after detailing some affairs of the King of Poland and the Queen of Hungary respecting the imperial power, Lord Chesterfield writes: "Having finished my own business here as far as it can be finish'd, I am resolv'd *rebus sic stantibus*, to be involv'd in no other.

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,804, f. 273.

“Your Grace tells me that things go *de mal en pis* at home, that they must be brought to a decision, but that you don’t know when. In the name of God, can there be a doubt as to the when? . . . Your situation is as well known out of England as in it, and has even worse effects abroad, than at home. Some rejoyce at it, some lament it, but to tell you the plain truth, most laugh at it. . . . I beg your Grace’s pardon, but I cannot help being a little warm upon this subject, as it is of the utmost consequence to yourselves, to the nation, and to all Europe. Every hour’s delay has an ill effect somewhere or other. The game is now in your hands, and if you lose it,—your enemys will tell you the rest with pleasure.¹

“I am sorry that your Grace and my two predecessors here have had so much trouble about my ecclesiastical recommendations; which, were it not for the sakes of the persons concern’d, I am very indifferent about, because the refusal would save me a great deal of trouble, and restore me to that kind of life which I unwillingly left, and shall most willingly return to. If my recommendation to the dirtiest bishopric in Ireland (independently of its name) is not to prevail, it can only be because it is mine. An indignity by which I am distinguish’d from all my predecessors, and

¹ For the origin of this expression, a favourite quotation with Lord Chesterfield, see *ante*, p. 129.

to which I will upon no account submit, and I think it but fair to give your Grace and our friends notice, that upon this foot I will not be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one hour after my arrival in London.

"I hope to hear soon from your Grace or your brother, when you would have me write an office letter to Lord Harrington for leave to come home. Since my stay here now is as useless to you as it is disagreeable to your Grace's, etc."¹

The Duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated 26th March, 1745, after acknowledging the previous letter from Lord Chesterfield of the 30th, N.S., congratulates him upon the success he has had in many material parts of his negotiation, and after recapitulating the details, says: "As these are, in my opinion, greatly if not singly owing to your lordship's weight, prudence, and ability, they are also demonstrations of the disposition of the republic to act thoroughly, and without reserve, in the support of the common interest; and great indications of their resolution to contribute as much toward it, as their present abilities and exhausted state will admit. . . .

"Looking therefore upon the chief object of your commission to be over (and I think, considering everything, very happily and honourably over), my brother and I are of opinion that you cannot

¹"Newcastle Papers," 32,804, f. 279. Endorsed "Hague," March 1st, 1744-5, R. 23d.

too soon write an office letter to my Lord Harrington for leave to come home. . . . "After dwelling upon the happy turn given to the accommodation with Prussia, and other foreign affairs, he says, with respect to domestic ones: "In the first place, as a faithful friend and humble servant, I neither am surprised at, nor disapprove the resolution you have taken with regard to yourself; tho' I hope there will be no occasion to put it in execution. You are certainly in the right, as you do not desire to be used better than your colleagues, to determine not to be used worse. This way of reasoning and this resolution (tho' I think they must appear just to everybody) are so much my own, and from the same cause, that I am far from blaming them in your lordship. . . .

"The Irish bishopric will, I think, be got over. It stands thus: When I first laid before the king the recommendation of Doctor Chenevix, I could make little way, notwithstanding the strong things that both Lord Harrington and I said upon it. I have since renewed the application and urged the regard, always show'd to lords lieutenants in their first recommendations, to which I was answer'd (but with much less acrimony than before), 'Lord Chesterfield should then recommend properer persons.' (For, unfortunately, this poor man lies under former prejudices of long standing.) To which I answer'd, that the doctor had a very good character; that the prejudice the king had to him,

was from what his Majesty could not blame him for ; and upon the whole it ended that there was no haste to dispose of the bishopric : so that I really think (tho' I may be mistaken) that this will be disagreeably done before or at your lordship's return to England."

After giving some details of ministerial prospects and changes :

"To-morrow Mr. Van de Pol, &c., honour Mr. Clouët.¹ I have already obey'd your commands in doing justice to you and the father, and shall endeavour, by all the means I can, to entertain and please the son : being desirous everybody, both here and abroad, should know that no recommendations can have so much weight as your lordship's, with

"Your, etc."

Lord Chesterfield, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, April 13th, N. S., acknowledging the above letter of 26th March, O. S., says : "I write to-night an ostensible letter to Lord Harrington for leave to return, which I believe will readily be granted me, and the only favour that would, as indeed it is the only one I will ask." And with reference to the king's objections to Doctor Chenevix : "As to myself, I am very glad your Grace approves of a resolution which I can never

¹ See *ante*, p. 263.

depart from, I mean that of not suffering an indignity. And I look upon it as the highest, the most distinguish'd indignity, to have my recommendation to the dirtiest bishopric in Ireland refus'd. Doctor Chenevix is without blemish as to his life and character, and if his attachment to me is to be, as it must be, the only objection to him, that objection doubles the indignity. I am therefore determin'd that if Doctor Chenevix is not Bishop of Chlonfert, I will not be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. . . . I know the plan with regard to myself very well ; I am to be very ill us'd with one hand, and very well offer'd with the other, in order to make me accept the latter. But those who know me little enough to imagine that that is the way of dealing with me, will find themselves mistaken. I will resent the indignitys, and I will despise the offers. . . .

"Thank God, I shall soon be out of the foreign galley, and probably, soon after, out of the domestic one, but if (as I don't expect) I should continue to row in the latter, I assure your Grace it shall be only with the crew I came into, and the best of the crew I came in with. So *vogue la galere* as it will, I am in or out of it."¹

Writing on the 23d April, N. S., to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield says: "His Royal Highness is, I know, negotiating a reconciliation

¹"Newcastle Papers," 32,804, f. 290.

between you and Lord Granville, or intends to do it. I say nothing upon that subject, only that your Grace certainly remembers that it was Sinon who introduced into Troy the horse (I have forgot whether it was a white one or no) that destroy'd it." ¹

To which the duke, in his letter of the 16th April, O. S., answers: "Whatever schemes Sinon may be hatching (of which we have yet heard little or nothing), I will answer there will be Laocoöns enough to disappoint the effect of them, who will endeavour to save Troy and themselves from being ensnared by the horse."

The question of the bishoprics was still somewhat doubtful; for Lord Chesterfield writes to Doctor Chenevix, April 27th, N. S. :

"DEAR DOCTOR :— I told you at first not to reckon too much upon the success of my recommendation, and I have still more reason to give you the same advice now, for it has met with great difficulties, merely as mine, and I am far from knowing yet how it will end. Pray, give no answer whatsoever to anybody, that either writes or speaks to you upon that subject, but leave it to me, for I make it my own affair, and you shall have either the bishopric of Chlonfert, or a better thing, or else I will not be lord lieutenant. I hope to be in England in about a

¹ Virgil, "*Æneid*," lib. ii.

fortnight, when this affair must and shall be brought to a decision.' Good night to you !

"Yours, etc." ²

However, on April 23d, O. S., the Duke of Newcastle says : "I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship that this day his Majesty was pleased to consent to the Irish bishoprics ; and I shall carry Doctor Chenevix's warrant to-morrow with the others according to your lordship's recommendation ;" and again, on April 26th, the duke writes : "I had this day the honour to get all the Irish warrants for bishoprics signed. There is one necessary alteration, which Mr. Liddell has desired should be made, by the translation of the Bishop of Killaloe to Dromore, and Doctor Chenevix's appointment to Killaloe ; the Bishop of Chlonfert having absolutely refused to go to Dromore." ³

In accordance with the above letters, Lord

¹ "When the king refused his consent to making me a bishop, he directed Lord Harrington, then secretary of state, to acquaint Lord Chesterfield that he would comply with his application in favour of any one, except me. His lordship's answer was, that he would not continue Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, except I had the vacant bishopric. One of the reasons given by his Majesty was, because he was told I wrote political pamphlets against the administration, which was absolutely false ; . . . and Lord Chesterfield never employed me to negotiate for him any political transaction, though Sir Robert thought so, because I used to go to him every morning by eight o'clock and stay till he was dressed." — *Note by Bishop Chenevix.*

² "Letters," iii. p. 157.

³ "Newcastle Papers," 32,804, ff. 309, 326.

Chesterfield writes, May 12th, N. S., to Bishop Chenevix :

“ MY GOOD LORD : — Now you are what I had positively declared you should be, — a bishop ; but it is Bishop of Killaloe, not Chlonfert, the latter refusing the translation. Killaloe, I am assured, is better. I heartily wish you joy, and could not refuse myself that pleasure, though I am in the greatest hurry imaginable, being upon my journey to Helvoet-Sluys for England. Adieu !

“ Yours, etc.” ¹

The check given by the French to the allied forces, under the command of the duke and Count Königseck, before Tournay, at the end of April,² had caused such general consternation, that at the entreaty of the pensionary not to leave him, Lord Chesterfield expressed his intention of remaining at The Hague until the arrival of Lord Harrington, but “ not one post after the king’s arrival at Hanover.”³ He did not, however, await the arrival of Lord Harrington, for on the 18th May, N. S., he writes to the Duke of Newcastle : “ If this letter gets to you before I do, it is to acquaint you that I set out the day after to-morrow for

¹ “ Letters,” iii. p. 158.

² “ Smollett,” iii. p. 149.

³ Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, 14 May, N. S. The king went to Holland, and landed at Helvoet-Sluys on May 14-25, 1745.

England, where, by your account, I shall find Lord Harrington. I could not leave this place sooner, and I fear some inconveniencys may attend my leaving it now ; but, so far I think I have settl'd things here, that instead of showing their reall dejection upon our late misfortune, they will act courage, and send more troops from hence to the army."

Lord Chesterfield accordingly returned home at the end of May, with the satisfaction of having entirely succeeded in the object of his embassy.

The name of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, has so often occurred in these pages, that it would not be proper merely to state that, after a long and painful illness, he died in March this year,¹ without also giving the character of him by Lord Chesterfield :

"I much question, whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity ; for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled, and in a manner incorporated themselves, with everything that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered, nor more abused ; and his long power was probably the chief cause of both. I was much acquainted with him both in his public and his private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character ; and therefore my picture of him

¹ See Walpole's letters to Mann, Feb. 28 and March 29, 1745.

will, perhaps, be more like him, than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

"In private life he was good-natured, cheerful, social; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse, strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind necessary for great good, or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune.¹ He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory.

"He was both the best Parliament man, and the ablest manager of Parliament that I believe ever lived. An artful rather than an eloquent speaker; he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the House, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that, whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not

¹ "His enemies pay him the compliment of saying, 'They do believe now that he did not plunder the public, as he was accused (as they accused him) of doing, he having died in such circumstances.' . . . It is certain he is dead very poor; his debts, with his legacies, which are trifling, amount to fifty thousand pounds. . . . If he had lived, his unbounded generosity and contempt of money would have run him into vast difficulties." — *Walpole to Mann, April 15, 1745.*

prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration ; and he employed it with a success which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II., but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion he brought it to that perfection, which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

“ Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed impudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found anybody proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas ! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art ; for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue, and the love of one's country, calling them ‘ the chimerical schoolboy flights of classical learning ; ’ declaring himself, at the same time, ‘ no saint, no Spartan, no reformer.’ He would frequently ask young fellows, at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted, ‘ Well, are you to be an old Roman ? a patriot ? You will soon come off of that and grow wiser.’ And thus he was more

dangerous to the morals than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded he meant no ill in his heart.

“He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so. He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind, and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession; which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people whose blasted characters reflected upon his own. He was loved by many, but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but on the contrary very placable to those who had injured him the most. His good-humour, good-nature, and beneficence, in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

“His name will not be recorded in history among the ‘best men,’ or the ‘best ministers;’ but much less ought it to be ranked amongst the worst.”

In the short interval between Lord Chesterfield’s return home and his departure to take up his lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, his only letters are two addressed to the Marquise de Monconseil,¹

¹“Madame de Monconseil, whose rank, birth, and virtues were far from extraordinary. Of her family I received this account from Paris, from one who knew her well: ‘Monsieur de Cursay, père de Madame de Monconseil, étoit gentilhomme, frère de Madame de Pleneuf, laquelle étoit mère de Madame de Prie

which relate chiefly to his son's intended visit to Paris, in the event of a peace, and asking her assistance in procuring a suitable companion, who could take his son into good society and to places of amusement.

In his first letter, dated 24th June, 1745, he says :

“Je vous aurois écrit il y a longtems, si un nombre infini de différentes affaires m'eût laissé quelques momens à mon choix ; mais ma part à la régence d'ici, et les affaires d'Irlande, où je vais en six semaines, accablent un paresseux comme moi, qui souhaiterois de passer ma vie dans une

(mistress of the Duke of Bourbon). Je ne me souviens pas aujourd'hui quel étoit le nom de Madame de Cursay : elle étoit certainement peu de chose. Elle avoit de la beauté, beaucoup d'impudence et d'intrigue. Elle avoit étoit (*sic*) entretenue par un nommé Auguerre, qu'elle ruina, qui se retira à S. Germain, et devint amoureux de la Demare comédienne, mère de Madame de Segur (by the Regent Duke of Orleans), qui le fit subsister et qu'il épousa. Je pretendois qu'on avoit dans sa cuillère le portrait de Madame de Cursay et de Madame de Monconseil ; de la première en se regardant dans la large, et de l'autre en la prenant de l'autre sens.'

“Madame de Monconseil married an officer, and was a most intriguing and interested woman, and dipped in all kinds of cabals. Besides Lord Chesterfield, she was much connected with Lord Clinton and General Churchill, and by the latter entered into a correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole, with whose character she pretended to be in love. I was introduced to her in 1739, when her mother kept a gaming house. Madame de Monconseil was tall, had a very fine skin and eyes, but too long a face. She was much connected with the Prince of Conti and the Marquis de Maillebois ; and when I knew her again in

tranquillité parfaite, et sans autres soins que ceux de la société et de l'amitié.

“ Me seroit-il permis, madame, d'abuser de votre amitié, et de vous consulter, de vous employer, et de vous ennuyer, sur une affaire qui m'intéresse très sensiblement ? Il me semble que vous me répondez qu'oui ; je vais donc au fait ; le voici. J'ai un garçon, qui à cette heure a treize ans ; je vous avouerai naturellement qu'il n'est pas légitime, mais sa mère est une personne bien née, et qui a eu des bontés pour moi que je ne méritois pas. Pour le garçon, peut-être est-ce prévention, mais je le trouve aimable ; c'est une jolie figure, il

1766 she was a personal enemy of the Duc de Choiseul, and her house was the rendezvous of all his enemies. I have supped there with Marshal Richelieu and Madame la Maréchale de Mirepoix, who for a great number of years had never spoken to one another but at the king's parties, since the marshal had killed her first husband, the Prince de Lixin. Madame de Mirepoix drew on herself the anger of the Duc de Choiseul by marrying her nephew, the Prince D'Henin, to Madame de Monconseil's second daughter ; and that match was the source of the duke's fall, for Marshal Richelieu procuring the intrigue between the king and Madame du Barry, Madame de Mirepoix, with whom the Duc de Choiseul had broken, attached herself to the new mistress ; and the Princess de Beauvau, wife of Madame de Mirepoix's brother, between which two ladies there was irreconcilable jealousy for the government of the Prince de Beauvau, pushed the Duchess de Grammont, the minister's favourite sister, into all manner of violence against Madame du Barry and Madame de Mirepoix ; and the duke was so weak as to let these two women lead him into equal indiscretion, which ended in the disgrace of the duke, and fell heavily on the Prince de Beauvau too.” — *Walpole's MS. note.*

a beaucoup de vivacité, et je crois de l'esprit pour son âge."

After describing the boy's attainments in the classics and in French, and stating his intention of sending him to Paris at the age of fourteen, he says: "J'enverrai avec lui un Anglois¹ d'une érudition consommée, qui continuera et augmentera son Latin et son Grec, et qui lui enseignera en même tems sa logique, sa rhétorique, et un peu de philosophie. Ce savant en sera le maître absolu, dans la maison, et toutes les matinales; mais comme il ne sera guères propre à lui donner des manières, ou si vous le voulez le ton de la bonne compagnie, chose pourtant très nécessaire, et peut-être aussi utile que tout le Grec et le Latin de Monsieur Vadius,² ne pourrois-je pas trouver à Paris quelque homme, ou quelque abbé, qui (moyennant de l'argent que je lui donnerois volontiers) se chargeroit du soin du garçon depuis quatre heures l'après-midi; qui le meneroit aux comédies, aux opéras, et même chez vous, si vous vouliez bien lui en accorder la permission? Comme j'aime infiniment cet enfant, et que je me pique d'en faire quelque chose de bon, puisque je crois que l'étoffe y est, mon idée est de réunir en sa personne ce que jusqu'ici je n'ai jamais

¹ The Rev. Walter Harte, M. A. of Oxford, travelling tutor to Lord Chesterfield's son, frequently mentioned in his correspondence.

² A character in "Les Femmes Sçavantes" of Molière.

trouvé en la même personne; je veux dire, ce qu'il y a de meilleur des deux nations. C'est pourquoi je lui destine son pédant Anglois, qui est d'ailleurs homme d'esprit, pour l'erudition solide que je lui voudrois, et son précepteur François des après-diners, pour lui donner, avec le secours des compagnies où il pourra le mener, cette tournure aisée, ces manières, ces agrémens, que sûrement on ne trouve qu'en France." ¹

In his next letter, dated a month later, 26th July, 1745, he returns to the same subject: "Je vous avoue que mon affection, ou si vous le voulez, ma foiblesse pour ce garçon fait que tout ce qui lui arrive m'est infiniment plus sensible que tout ce qui me pourroit arriver à moi-même, et me fera toujours envisager vos moindres bontés pour lui, comme les marques les plus solides et le plus flatteuses de votre amitié pour moi." And upon the subject of the French preceptor: "Je ne m'obstine nullement ni à un abbé, ni à un savant; je demande seulement un homme d'esprit, soit laïque, soit ecclésiastique, qui eût du monde, et qui étant présentable lui-même, pourroit présenter le garçon dans les bonnes compagnies, et lui donner le ton des honnêtes gens. Je serois bien aise aussi qu'il voulût lire avec lui l'histoire moderne, et les ou-

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 161. "I have often said, and do think, that a Frenchman, who, with a fund of virtue, learning, and good sense, has the manners and good-breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature." — *To his son, March 6, 1747.*

vrages d'esprit, pour en même tems l'instruire des faits, et lui former le goût. Son Anglois, qui sera avec lui, est un magasin d'érudition Grecque et Latine, et de ce côté là ne déplaira pas à l'Abbé Sallier ; mais il ne pourra jamais l'introduire, ni même l'accompagner chez les gens du monde. À son age il est impossible qu'il y aille seul, surtout aux opéras et aux comédies, où néanmoins il est bon qu'il aille quelquefois. Si un tel homme est à avoir, vous en jugerez mieux que personne, et je m'en rapporte en toute sûreté à votre choix. . . .

“Je pars pour l'Irlande en trois semaines, mais adressez moi les lettres dont vous voudrez bien m'honorer, à Londres, comme à l'ordinaire : elles me font trop de plaisir pour que je ne prenne pas toutes les précautions possibles pour n'en pas perdre une. Adieu, madame ; je vous accable.”¹

I have given the above extracts, as they express the views and intentions of Lord Chesterfield in the education of his son, which he consistently carried out, but which, partly from the cause indicated in the above first letter, were destined to be but imperfectly fulfilled.

We now arrive at what was certainly the most brilliant and useful part of Lord Chesterfield's public career, — his lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, the government of which he entered upon, and continued with the resolution of doing all the business himself, of leaving nothing undone, nor for others

¹ “Letters,” iii. p. 164.

to do.¹ He therefore appointed as his secretary, Mr. Liddell,² telling him: "Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place; but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister." And on being asked on one occasion how he could go through so much business, he answered: "Because I never put off to to-morrow

¹ For he certainly did not act upon the humorous reason for accepting the post, which he gave to Lord Marchmont: "Lord Chesterfield said, as to himself he had chosen Ireland for a reason I would laugh at, which the Duke of Shrewsbury gave him; that it was a place wherein a man had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not so much as to keep him awake; that besides he wanted to have it in his power to do for little people who were attached to him, and had suffered for him; . . . and that he would not be a loser by his place, if he was to come out of it after March next come twelvemonth, nor even then above £2,000 loser." — *Lord Marchmont's Diary*, Nov. 24, 1744.

² Member of Parliament for Bossiney, in Cornwall, respecting whose appointment, Lord Chesterfield wrote, in a letter to his son, 26 February, 1754: "It was the Duke of Dorset's not doing the business himself, but giving it up to favourites, that has occasioned all this confusion in Ireland; and it was my doing the whole myself, without either favourite, minister, or mistress, that made my administration so smooth and quiet. I remember, when I named the late Mr. Liddell for my secretary, everybody was much surprised at it; and some of my friends represented to me, that he was no man of business, but only a very genteel, pretty young fellow; I assured them, and with truth, that that was the very reason why I chose him; for that I was resolved to do all the business myself, and without even the suspicion of having a minister; which the lord lieutenant's secretary, if he is a man of business, is always supposed, and commonly with reason, to be." Mr. Liddell died in 1746.

what I can do to-day.”¹ And, with the wise impartiality which distinguished his rule, he went “determined to proscribe no set of persons whatever; and determined to be governed by none. Had the papists made any attempt to put themselves above the law, I should have taken good care to have quelled them again. It was said that my lenity to the papists had wrought no alteration, either in their religious or their political sentiments. I did not expect that it would; but surely that was no reason for cruelty toward them.”²

On more than one occasion Lord Chesterfield reproved intolerant zeal with a good-humoured jest: “A zealous Protestant, thinking to pay his court to the lord lieutenant, came to inform him that one of his coachmen was a Roman Catholic, and privately went to mass. ‘Does he indeed? Well, I will take care he shall never carry me there.’”

“The vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardner, a man of good character and a considerable fortune, waited upon him one morning, and in a great fright told him that he was assured, upon good authority, that the people in the province of Connaught were actually rising. Upon which Lord Chesterfield took out his watch, and with great composure answered him, ‘It is nine o’clock, and certainly time for

¹ Maty, pp. 151, 319.

² Letter cited in Lord Mahon’s Preface, p. x.

them to rise ; I therefore believe your news to be true.' " ¹

He treated the adherents to the exiled royal family with equal lenity and prudence, with equal moderation and firmness. One of them, a Roman Catholic, who was looked upon as an agent to the Pretender, was privately sent for to the castle. "Sir," said Lord Chesterfield, "I do not wish to inquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom, but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such ; but if they act in a different manner, I shall be worse to them than Cromwell." ²

And upon the occasion of some trifling dispute raised by the master of rolls, Lord Chesterfield sent for him, and after hearing what he had to say in vindication of his conduct, "Master," said the lord lieutenant, "you must do the king's business, or be turned out of your employment ; and if you

¹ Maty, p. 320. Upon which, Horace Walpole says : "I had always heard that it was to a bishop that Lord Chesterfield made this reply, and I asked Lord George Sackville Germain, who assured me it was, and that the person was Howth, Archbishop of Tuam, who was so offended at the indecent levity of the lord lieutenant, that he never visited him more. There was wit in the reply, no doubt, if Lord Chesterfield had only said that he had made it ; but it was very unbecoming a chief magistrate at such a crisis to a respectable prelate." — *MS. notes on Maty*.

² Maty, p. 156.

are, I shall not do with you as they do in England, for you shall never come in again as long as I have any power.”¹ Nor was any ruler ever more easy of access, more ready to redress a grievance, or assist the weak against the strong, of which disposition Maty gives the following instance: “A very considerable gentleman of the county of Kerry, and member of Parliament, was indebted to a neighbouring tradesman, who had frequently applied to him for payment of his just demand. The tradesman going one day to the gentleman’s house to renew his application, the latter ordered his servants to tie him to the pump and horsewhip him. These orders were obeyed with the utmost severity. The poor man came up to Dublin with his complaints to the lord lieutenant, who immediately directed a special commission of oyer and terminer to repair to that county and try the cause; the consequence of which was, that the gentleman was fined in a very heavy penalty.”²

I have been enabled also to gather some interesting particulars of his social doings from the time of his arrival till his departure, from Faulkner’s *Dublin Journal* of that period, in which, after announcing the arrival of the lord lieutenant and Lady Chesterfield; the speeches and loyal addresses made to him by the recorder, the lord mayor, and others; and of his reviewing the

¹ Maty, p. 165.

² Maty, p. 322.

militia regiments of horse and foot ;¹ the following account is given of an entertainment at the castle on the 30th October, the king's birthday :

"The supper-room was beautifully decorated, having a temple of Minerva, in the pediment of which was a basso-relievo of his Majesty, to which the motto was, *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. . . .

"Within the temple . . . were several beautiful statues which poured out a perpetual flow of the choicest wines of all sorts into rich basins, from whence the liquor was conveyed by private pipes into the lower castle-yard, where it played off in several fountains of wine during the whole entertainment, to give the populace an opportunity to drink his Majesty's health, which they heartily did," etc.

It is also stated that Lady Chesterfield, to set an example to the ladies of this kingdom, wore a head-dress of Irish needlework, and that she had not one thread of any manufacture on her but the produce of Ireland.² Lady Chesterfield's patronage of Irish cambrics, poplins, etc., is mentioned on some other occasions of entertainments given at the castle.

¹ *Dublin Journal*, August 28, 31, to September 3; September 14 to 17; October 1 to 5.

² *Dublin Journal*, October 29th to November 2d. Some allowance must be made for Hibernian enthusiasm in this description of the flow of wine.

Garrick was at this time fulfilling an engagement at the Theatre Royal in Smock Alley, under the management of Thomas Sheridan, and special performances were frequently commanded by Lord and Lady Chesterfield.¹

Notwithstanding Lord Chesterfield's love of high play, he not only prohibited gaming of any kind at the castle, but he also abolished the perquisites of the groom-porter; and in their place, procured a pension for the daughter of the half-pay officer who held the post, and a commission in the army for his son; and "continued the salary to the master and deputy during their lives."²

Lord Chesterfield also caused a fine Corinthian pillar to be erected, with a phoenix on the top of it, in the centre of the ring in the Phoenix Deer Park, near Dublin.³

And, shortly before his departure, he laid the foundation-stone of the new church in the barracks, for the use of the officers and soldiers; and "left a handsome sum of money for the workmen, to encourage them to carry on this undertaking."⁴

Having given the above outline of Lord Chesterfield's administration, I proceed with extracts from

¹ *Dublin Journal*, *passim*, 1745-46; and see Davies's "Life of Garrick," chapter ix.

² Maty, p. 162; *Dublin Journal*, February 15 to 18, 1745.

³ *Dublin Journal*, April 1 to 5, 1746.

⁴ *Dublin Journal*, April 12 to 15, 1746.

his correspondence with his government at home, now for the first time made public, which will show with how great resolution and prudence he took measures to frustrate any attempts to sow dissension in Ireland, and his opinions of the means which ought to be adopted for suppressing the rebellion in Scotland. For, though, as lord lieutenant, he showed no fear of the rebels himself, he had good reason to fear the effects of their success in Scotland upon the adherents of the Pretender's cause in Ireland.

Lord Chesterfield departed for his government at the end of August, and his first letter from Dublin is to Mr. Stone,¹ on the 31st of that month: "I arriv'd here this day at noon, after the best sea passage possible, and am now endeavouring to acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 25th, which I receiv'd at Holyhead the moment before I embark'd; but whether (stunn'd as I am with the noise of cannon, drums, and trumpets) I am able to write common sense, you will be the best judge. . . . As it is reported here that two or three thousand people have declar'd themselves and appear'd in favour of the young Pretender in Scotland, and as it may be necessary to have more frequent and speedy accounts from thence here than we can have by way of England; I shall next Monday send a person

¹ Under secretary of state, highly esteemed and confided in by Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle.

well recommended to me into that part of Scotland, who (unknown himself there) will, by means we have concerted, send me authentic accounts of whatever passes there.”¹

His next letter is to the Duke of Newcastle, September 2d, desiring a warrant for the post-master to open letters when it may be thought necessary: “By letters from Scotland here, the young Pretender’s affair seems every day to grow more serious; but as I can’t very well depend upon those accounts, I have sent a trusty smuggler to the north of Scotland for more authentick informations. He is gone to the Macdonalds, with whom he has had frequent dealings, and I am assur’d that I may depend upon his accounts. The little time I have been here has been employ’d in ceremony and noise, and I am sure I have my drums and trumpets with a vengeance; but by what little inquiries I have yet been able to make, this country appears to be in a most deffenceless condition. The forts extremely out of repair, the militia in the several countys absolutely neglected, and the regular troops, as you very well know, very few.”²

Writing again on the 9th September, proposing to recruit the army in case of emergency: “I have reason to be convinced that, with common care, great numbers of very good men, undoubted

¹ “Newcastle Papers,” 32,705, f. 129.

² “Newcastle Papers,” 32,705.

Protestants, may in a very little while be got in the northern parts of Ireland. . . .

“I hope the fate which the young Pretender will soon meet with in Scotland will discourage any attempts to disturb or invade this country; for indeed it is in a wretched state of deffence; the regular troops are but few, the forts and barracks have been so long neglected that they are extremely out of repair, and taking the papists throughout the kingdom, they are at least four to one Protestant.”¹

In a letter of the 12th September, after writing at some length upon foreign and English politics: “I own I pity you all, but pray pity me a little too, who am as much plagued with little business, as you can be with great. For though here are no partys of Whiggs and Torys, no form’d opposition; yet every connexion, nay almost every family, expects to govern, or means to distress if they can’t govern, the lord lieutenant. Anything proposed by one is for that very reason opposed by twenty. The chancellor is a most sensible, good sort of man, honest and able; but, if I were to show the preference I justly give him, it would be the worse for us both. Add to all these agreeable circumstances, that I shall be above five thousand pounds out of pocket by this campaign, not from any ridiculous profusion, but from the excessive price of everything here, which is much higher

¹ “Newcastle Papers,” 32,705.

now than in London. But this last consideration never had yet, nor has not now, any great weight with me. If I am but able to carry on the business without disgrace, I shall be very well satisfied."

In a long letter of the 14th September, entirely relating to the raising foot-soldiers in the north of Ireland from the Protestants there: "I must do all the Protestants of this country the justice to say that their zeal and spirit for the support of his Majesty and his government are as great and universal as possible, and that they will decline neither danger nor expense in defence of the present establishment. On my part nothing but ability shall be wanting."

Upon the news of the battle at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh, on the 21st September, when the Pretender completely defeated Sir John Cope,¹ Lord Chesterfield, forgetting, perhaps in the excitement of the time, his own moderation in the conduct of affairs in Ireland, addressed the following vehement letter to the Duke of Newcastle, on the 29th September:²

¹ See Walpole to Mann, Sept. 27, 1745; Smollett, iii. p. 162.

² It seems justified, however, by the following letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, September 25th. "Your Royal Highness will hear the melancholy account of the entire defeat of the king's army under Sir J. Cope. Dragoons and foot did as ill as possible, and now there is no army between Scotland and London. The Pretender having entirely got possession of the whole kingdom of Scotland, except the

“In the present unexpected and astounding state of affairs in England, when it has for the first time happened that four thousand rabble have beaten three thousand regular troops, it is great satisfaction to me to find, by your Grace's private letter, that so considerable a number of our troops in Flanders are order'd to be held ready for embarkation. And I cannot help add-

Castle of Edinburgh (where is all the wealth of the country, ten thousand arms, etc.), which it is thought cannot hold out long; and Sir J. Cope being most thoroughly defeated by an army of six thousand determined and well-disciplined rebels, with the Pretender's son at their head, which, I hope, justify the early fears and humble application of your R. H.'s faithful servants here, for a considerable reinforcement from your army. For had not that reinforcement providentially arrived, the day before the news came of Sir J. Cope's defeat, the confusion in the city of London would not have been to be described; and the king's crown (I will venture to say) in the utmost danger. Marshal Wade will now by the assistance of your R. H.'s army, march immediately to meet the rebels, with near ten thousand men; two regiments, of one thousand men each, being sent for from Ireland, to join him. But, if the rebels should increase (as may very well happen), or, should France, who has set this young gentleman to work, support him, now he has conquer'd one kingdom we have no way to save this country, and the king's crown, but by further reinforcements from your R. H.'s army. . . . As you are so good as to interest yourself in what concerns your faithful servants here, I can only assure your R. H. that we, to the utmost of our power, do our duty to our king and our country; have endeavour'd to prevent the misfortunes that have happen'd, and do endeavour to extricate his Majesty out of them, as well as we can; and yet we are far from having the satisfaction of being approved, or supported.” — *Newcastle Papers*, 32,705, f. 213.

ing that I wish the duke were to come over with 'em, and have the command of the whole army, for which command, without the least flattery, I think his Royal Highness is the fittest person. I ask pardon for hazarding my opinion upon this subject, but as this is a time when all people will be giving their opinions, and when it is in some degree many people's duty to do so, permitt me to throw mine into the number ; it may be erroneous, but I am sure it is well meant. After the unfortunate defeat of his Majesty's army, which I will venture to say could only have happen'd from ill conduct or cowardice somewhere or other, some particular acts of vigour and severity are absolutely necessary, and it is not a time for favour or lenity. The rebels and their friends are doubtless in spirits upon this occasion, which spirits ought as soon as possible to be taken down, by some act of vigour ; and experience has constantly shown us, that wherever they are vigorously, they are successfully, attack'd. . . . On our part, if any of our officers did not do their duty, I hope they are by this time broke, be they who they will ; and I hope, too, that the regiment of dragoons that did not stand one fire is at least decimated. For if the severest examples are not made upon such an occasion as this, cowardice or treachery will promise themselves impunity upon every other.

“As Scotland has hitherto been constantly the

nursery of rebellion, I hope it will now be made the grave of it. Favour and lenity to that country have, I am sure, run their length, and your Grace sees with what effect. The collusion is too gross between the avow'd enemys, and many of the pretended friends to his Majesty's government, and if regard for the latter is to produce management for the former, the seeds of rebellion will ever remain in that country, and germinate upon every seemingly favourable opportunity. I make no difficulty, therefore, of declaring my opinion that the commander-in-chief should be order'd to give no quarter, but to pursue and destroy the rebels wherever he finds 'em, without regard to the inconveniencys that may result, for the time, to others, who may call themselves loyal. And I am fully convinc'd that, if the Castle of Edinburgh had batter'd the town about the ears of the rebels while they were there, not five of the king's reall friends would have suffer'd by it. Having thus ventur'd to tell your Grace what I wish may be done in Scotland, give me leave to acquaint you with what I have done here. Upon the first news of the accident in Scotland, people here were extremely alarm'd, and I found it absolutely necessary to take some steps immediately, as well in regard to their fears, as to their security; and as I was aware that the two regiments would be sent for from hence to England, I took upon myself to order the immediate recruiting of

the four other regiments of foot, up to their full establishment of one hundred men a company, in the north of Ireland; and the officers of the said regiments are accordingly gone there. I confess I had not the proper orders from his Majesty so to do; but as I thought there was no time to be lost, and as your Grace's former letter intimated that his Majesty thought that good men might be had in the north of Ireland, I ventur'd to give the orders without waiting for the proper authorisation, which circumstances will, I hope, obtain me his Majesty's forgiveness. If I have err'd it was from zeal for his service. I have at the same time given the strictest orders that no person shall be inlisted, without a certificate from the parson of the parish, or from the dissenting teacher, of his being a Protestant, and I have declar'd that I will break any officers that disobey these orders, and I will certainly do it. But I am under no apprehension of that kind, for there are but few papists in those parts, and I have engaged the most considerable people there to help the officers to sure men. The next thing I did was in a consultation with the general officers to order a cantonment of the few forces we have here, to be made in such a manner, as that they may in eight and forty hours be got together, and form one corps, equally *à portée* of Galway or Cork, the two parts of this country where the papists are the strongest, and where,

whenever there is an invasion, that invasion will certainly be made. I have left the north of Ireland to take care of itself, which it is both able and willing to do. And for this place, I have a regiment of horse, a regiment of dragoons, and three companys of foot that I have sent for from the north. I have likewise about three hundred of the Invalides, who are very good men, and who now mount guard and do garrison duty here. I have also order'd the militia of this city, which is by no means a contemptible one, to be drawn out.¹ Should there be an invasion or an insurrection here, which can only be in the south, or southwest of this country, I assure your Grace it shall have no time given it to gather strength; and whatever the numbers may be of either side, the rebels or the invaders shall instantly be attack'd, which that I may be sure of, I will go myself. One thing more I have done, in which I own I have taken a great load upon myself, but I have done it not only with the advice of the chancellor, primate, and Speaker, but, I may say, at the requisition of almost every Protestant in Ireland; that is, I have order'd out the militia of

¹ Last Wednesday, the militia regiments of horse and foot were reviewed by Lord Chesterfield, who said "that he never saw so fine a militia, nor any so well cloathed and disciplined, and that he would not fail to make a report to the king of their numbers, and fine appearance, as well as of the duty, loyalty, and affection for his Majesty's government." — *Dublin Journal*, Tuesday, October 1st to October 5th.

every county, which, to say the truth, by law, I have not the power to do. The necessity of the case must justify me, and when I do what I am convinc'd is necessary for the service of his Majesty and the publick, I am not afraid of the consequences to myself. Upon the whole, if I have done anything wrong, I must rely upon his Majesty's indulgence in consideration of my intentions to do right." ¹

In the following private letter to Mr. Stone, on the 30th September, he expresses his confidential opinion upon the state of parties at home :

"The present publick situation of affairs, and private distress in the closet, should in my humble opinion be made the proper use of, and immediately. Complaints of imprisonment, etc., are surely not to be minded : everybody complains when they can't do what they have a mind to, but others always avail themselves of their distress. The two brothers, as they are call'd, can never expect favour, but they have strength and should exert it without loss of time ; they have friends who will stand or fall with 'em, and if they will now give the law, I am convinc'd they may. . . .

"If a publick brand be not put upon Lord Granville and his adherents before the meeting of the Parliament, they will have the strength before the ending of it. *Delenda est Carthago*, and this is

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 225.

the moment in which it may be done. The cajoling of individuals may in time have effect, and I doubt will; at present they are firm, and may be made use of. There is a moment in all affairs; this is it, in my opinion, for the brothers to secure themselves, their friends, and the publick. They can't fall now if they will stand; but some time hence they may fall, and then possibly unsupported, or unpitied. These are my sincere thoughts for their service only; for as to myself, I most sincerely wish, at my return from hence, to be at liberty and quiet."¹

Writing again to the Duke of Newcastle on the 30th September, Lord Chesterfield requests powers to name officers for raising additional companies of foot, and "to inlist the men for a certain time, by which means, more and better men will with more ease be got;" and again, on the 4th October, he says: "The zeal and duty for his Majesty is unanimous and universal here, among the Protestants; and even many of the most considerable papists have given me the strongest assurances of not disturbing a government whose lenity they acknowledge."

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the 5th October, Lord Chesterfield, referring to his above letter to Mr. Stone, in which he had "shot his bolt as to the present state of affairs at St. James's," says: "It is a maxim in physick that

¹"Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 233.

health is preserv'd by the same means by which it is acquir'd ; and I believe this maxim is as true in politics. . . . You remember how you got Lord Granville out of place. Somebody¹ was then a prisoner, was ill-us'd, had the law impos'd upon 'em ; the two brothers were the goalers, the usurpers, the devil, and what not ; but you persisted and you prevail'd. The same means will, and alone can, give you the power, and take it from Lord Granville, who will always have the favour. I look upon the rebellion in Scotland as crush'd as soon as our army gets there. The Highlanders will then return to their dens, and trust to their damn'd country for their security. But I hope they will not find it there. And were I to direct, I would have a short act of Parliament for the transporting to the West Indies every man concern'd in the rebellion, and give a reward for every one that should be apprehended, and brought to transportation ; this I think would be a much better way than hanging some of the rascals, and letting the others go home, for another rebellion.

“All my good subjects here are unanimously zealous, but unanimously frighten'd too, which I confess I am not. They think themselves of so much importance, as to be the principal objects of the designs of our enemies ; whereas I rather think that our enemies are well enough inform'd

¹ The king.

to know, that this country must necessarily follow the fate of England. And that their whole force will consequently be directed there, and not divided, to do here what would either do of itself, or not do at all. However, I take all the proper precautions, *à bon compte*, but without encouraging the millions of projects that are every day offer'd me." ¹

The Irish Parliament assembled on the 8th October, when Lord Chesterfield opened the session with an address, of which the following is the most material part.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :— I am honoured with the king's commands to meet you here in Parliament, and to coöperate with you in whatever may tend to establish, or promote, the true interest of this kingdom. His Majesty's tender concern for all his subjects, and your zeal and duty for him, have mutually been too long experienced for me now to represent the one, or recommend the other.

"Your own reflections will best suggest to you the advantages you have enjoyed under a succession of Protestant princes, by nature inclined, and by legal authority enabled, to preserve and protect you ; as your own history, and even the experience of some still alive among you, will best paint the miseries and calamities of a people scourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal, and lawless power.

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 241.

“These considerations must necessarily excite your highest indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to disturb his Majesty’s government, by a pretender to his crown : one nursed up in civil and religious error ; formed to persecution and oppression, in the seat of superstition and tyranny ; whose groundless claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and constitutions of these kingdoms ; whose only hopes of support are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general ; and whose success would consequently destroy your liberty, your property, and your religion.

“But this success is little to be feared, his Majesty’s subjects giving daily and distinguished proofs of their zeal for the support of his government and the defence of his person ; and a considerable number of national troops, together with six thousand Dutch, chearfully furnished to his Majesty by his good allies the states general, being now upon their march to Scotland, a force more than sufficient to check the progress and chastise the insolence of a rebellious and undisciplined multitude.

“The measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of popery have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater, effect ; however, I leave it to your consideration whether nothing farther can be done, either by new laws or by the more effectual execution of those in

being, to secure this nation against the great number of papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorise restraint.

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that I hear of the present flourishing state of the linen manufacture, and I most earnestly recommend to you the care and improvement of so valuable a branch of your trade. Let not its prosperity produce negligence, and let it never be supposed to be brought to its utmost extent and perfection. Trade has always been the support of all nations and the principal care of the wisest.

"I persuade myself that the business of this session will be carried on with that temper and unanimity which a true and unbiased regard for the public naturally produces, and which the present state of affairs more particularly demands. For my own part I make no professions; you will, you ought to, judge of me only by my actions."

How well Lord Chesterfield's conduct was already appreciated appears by the following letter from the Duke of Newcastle on the 9th October: ¹

"I did not think I should so soon have had an occasion to congratulate you on your great success in the closet. For I can now truly say that in

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 248.

this instance the stones have not been deaf to your musick; and, indeed, it was almost impossible to be so. The spirit, the solidity, and the bravery of your letter had a wonderful effect. Chesterfield is in the right. It is the wisest letter that ever was wrote. And in short everything was liked; and you will see by my other letter, which had our master's approbation, that we have proceeded ever since entirely upon that principle. And, indeed, I must own my obligation to your lordship; for I think I never saw so masterly an instruction for our interior situation as is contain'd in that letter.

"Our nobility are raising regiments; I doubt a little too fast. They will be a great expense to the publick, and create some confusion among the military men."¹

¹ This scheme was ridiculed by Sir C. H. Williams in his ballad, "The Heroes," beginning:

"Of all the jobs that e'er had past
Our house, since times of jobbing;
Sure none was ever like the last,
Ev'n in the days of Robin:
For he himself had blush'd for shame
At this polluted cluster
Of fifteen nobles of great fame
All brib'd by one false muster."

In the time of the rebellion these lords had proposed to raise regiments of their own dependants, and were allowed; had they paid them, too, the service had been noble; being paid by the government, obscured a little of the merit; being paid without raising them would deserve too coarse a term. It is certain that

Lord Chesterfield, writing to Mr. Stone on 10th October, says :

"I own I am in no sort of uneasiness about the rebels, who, I am convinc'd, will neither penetrate into England nor stand the approach of our army in Scotland. Our force is now very considerable, and the present officers I believe will fight. The reinforcement sent for from Flanders will be much better in England than in Flanders, and superior to any force that can probably be landed in England. Though I take all proper precautions here, I am under no fear ; this country must follow the fate of yours, and will never be the first attack'd."¹

In a letter of the 24th October from Lord Chesterfield to the Duke of Newcastle, after acknowledging the receipt of the duke's two letters of the 9th and the king's gracious approbation of his conduct, and of the military appointments which he had made and was making consequent on the authority his Majesty had given him :

"The Parliament here goes on with the greatest zeal and unanimity, the only contention is who

not six of the regiments ever were raised ; not four of which were employed. The chief persons who were at the head of this scheme were the Dukes of Bedford and Montagu ; the Duke of Bedford actually raised and served with his regiment. — *Note by Horace Walpole.* Sir C. H. Williams's "Works," vol. i. p. 161. See also Walpole's letters to Mann, Sept. 30, Oct. 4, and Nov. 4, 1745.

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 254.

shall be foremost in duty and loyalty to his Majesty. Of which one strong proof is the regard they show to me who can upon no other account deserve it. Tho' here are no political partys, here are particular sets and connexions, of which some or other us'd to try obliquely to create some difficultys ; but nothing of that kind has yet happen'd, and I believe will not. . . . The papists here are not only quiet, but even their priests preach quiet to 'em. The most considerable of 'em have been with me to assure me of their firm resolution not to disturb the government, and to thank me for not having disturb'd them, as usuall at this time. I told 'em very fairly that the lenity of the government should continue as long as their good behaviour deserv'd it, but that if they gave the least disturbance they should be treated with a rigour they had never yet experienc'd. I have very good intelligence of 'em, and I cannot discover that they meditate any disturbance." And in a second letter of the same date he says: "You bestow upon my former letter praises it does not deserve, and somebody else express'd an approbation of it, which I did not expect. If it was of any use to you I am glad ; otherwise I am very philosophical about favour."

And with reference to the raising of regiments : "I dislike the thing very much ; you will find 'em very troublesome and very useless. I have discourag'd 'em here, and kept 'em to the mere

militia regiments and companys, which are just as useful, and attended with none of the ill consequences.”¹

In a letter of October 26th, after making various recommendations respecting military appointments :

“As I have had information that considerable quantities of corn and meal were buying up by the Scotch at Belfast, and in the north of England, probably for the use of the rebels, or at least for the use of their friends, I have this day in council published a proclamation to prohibit the exportation of all corn, meal, flower, etc., till further order. This may, I hope, contribute to starve the beasts when they return to their dens, as I suppose they will, at the approach of his Majesty’s troops. And I really believe very few innocent people in that country will suffer by it.

“I don’t trouble your Grace with all the particular instances of zeal and loyalty that appear here every day ; it would be endless, associations, subscriptions, etc., are carrying on with the utmost cheerfulness and unanimity in every county in Ireland. . . . And if I have any difficulty here, it is only to check some imprudent projects and improper ebullitions of zeal in well-meaning people. I am impatient to hear of the entrance of our army into Scotland, not that I doubt of the event ; but because I want to have that sink of

¹ “Newcastle Papers,” 32,705, ff. 280, 282.

rebellion clean'd, which I hope now will be the case." ¹

On November 2d, Lord Chesterfield writes :

"Your Grace will receive by this post a bill passed yesterday in counsil here, for putting a price upon the heads of the Pretender's sons, dead or alive. . . ." ² He goes on to tell that upon an alarm in the north of Ireland on an idle report that, upon the approach of the king's army, the rebels were determined to come into the north of Ireland, application had been made to him for some regular troops, which, however, he had refused, being convinced of the impracticability of such a design. And after expressing his opinion that as soon as the king's army enters Scotland, the rebels would lay down their arms upon promise of pardon, and his hope that it would not be granted: "I am aware that the inaction of the rest of Scotland will be call'd loyalty and urg'd as merit. I know what I call it. And I cannot help thinking that if there had been but twelve thousand loyall subjects in Scotland, they might have taken the trouble of beating eight thousand disloyal ones. I am aware too that this bill of

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,704, f. 286.

² His Excellency the Earl of Chesterfield went in state to Parliament, and gave the royal assent to the bill for offering a reward of £50,000 for taking the Pretender or his sons if he or either of them should attempt to land in Ireland. — *Dublin Journal*, Nov. 30th to Dec. 3d.

merit will be accompanied with a bill of losses, and that it will be represented as very reasonable that England should not only reimburse but enrich those unfortunate gentlemen who suffered by their most loyal inaction. This happen'd to most of 'em after the last rebellion; and I remember particularly that the Parliament gave £6,000 to Daniel Campbell, of Glasgow, in consideration of the jewels his lady had lost in the rebellion. A sum sufficient in my opinion to have purchas'd all the jewels in Scotland, not excepting, it may be, those in their crown. . . .

"I own I cannot keep my temper when I reflect that, twice within my time, a country by which England can never be benefitted should have put England to such expense and trouble, and his Majesty to such hazard."¹

Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the 14th of November, says: "I must beg leave to make one application to his Majesty in favour of Lord Mountjoy, who is at present a viscount of a very antient family, and with a very great estate; a considerable part of which he inherited from a Lord Blesington. He is remarkably zealous and active for the support of his Majesty's government, and very much and deservedly beloved here. He is very desirous to be made Earl of Blesington, and I promis'd him to lay his request before his Majesty, and to add

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 300.

to it my most dutyfull and earnest recommendation, as I now take the liberty to do." ¹

In a long letter to Lord Chesterfield, of the 20th November, chiefly on foreign and domestic politics, the Duke of Newcastle says: "The rebellion is far from being over, or to be despised. An army of near ten thousand desperate men inured now to fight and fatigue, is actually in England. . . . I have this moment an account of the surrender of the castle of Carlisle, pretty soon after the surrender of the town, whereby the rebels have made themselves masters of several pieces of cannon, a quantity of arms, and a number of horses. Every day shows that this rebellion is by no means a trifle."

Thanking Lord Chesterfield for his most kind and useful letters: "Those that were proper, I showed to the king, and they had the desired effect. His Majesty beginning of himself to speak to my Lord Harrington of the wisdom, solidity and resolution that appeared in them."²

Toward the end of November, the Duke of Cumberland, who had arrived from the Netherlands, followed by another detachment of troops, set out to take command of the army assembled in the neighbourhood of Litchfield.³

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 312. This recommendation was granted. See letter, *post*, of 29 November, p. 315.

² "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 318.

³ Smollett, iii. p. 167. Letter from Duke of Newcastle to Duke of Richmond, Nov. 22d.

Lord Chesterfield, writing to the Duke of Newcastle on 25th November, in answer to the above letter, with his "usual freedom and truth," says: "I am in place, and heartily wish to be out of it. I am out of the opposition, and do not wish to be in it. . . . As to the rebellion, I confess I am not under the least apprehension of it. The number and condition of the rebels is contemptible. In short, I see an end, and I think a speedy one of the rebellion."¹

But in the following, and other passages in subsequent letters, Lord Chesterfield, though "out of the opposition," expresses, in very lively and forcible language, his dislike to Lord Granville and Lord Bath, the "two lords," as he calls them; his distrust of Mr. Pitt, and his ill opinion of "young master."

"If you had fixed your scheme with the opposition some time sooner, I think you would have done it easier, for they now see that you want them, as much as they want places, which I can assure you is not a little. You must make the best bargain you can with 'em, for you can only be supported by 'em. The prince and Lord Granville and company neither can nor will support you, they want the power as well as the places, whereas my friends in the opposition only want the places, without being, or meaning to be, your rivals in power. . . ." It had

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 379.

always been his opinion that the Dutch could not carry on the war another year, and that peace must be made "with 'em and through 'em." He ridicules the idea of sending ten thousand troops to the Dutch, or even thirty thousand. "But I would make a peace with 'em and through 'em. Oh, but then it will be a bad peace, and we won't have a bad peace. I can't help that, but when you are beaten, and can't carry on the war any longer, unless to be beaten still more (which is our present case) all I know is that you must make the best peace you can, and that will be a bad one, which is always the case of the vanquish'd. . . .

"Upon the whole, the situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, is so unfortunate that one has only evils to chuse out of, and so intricate that one does not know which is the least evil. For my part, *Davus sum non Oedipus*. It is much above me."

In another letter of the same date, he says: "The rebels, I hope, and am convinc'd, will soon pay dear for their success at Carlisle, and I think they must soon be crush'd between Marshall Wade and Ligonier. Everything continues very quiet here."¹

In a letter to David Mallet,² November 27th, he

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, ff. 379, 385.

² David Malloch, a Scotchman, born about 1698, one of our less known, or less appreciated poets, who, after he came to London, and had cleared his tongue from his native pronuncia-

writes : "I cannot comprehend the consternation which eight thousand of your countrymen have, I find, thrown seven millions of mine into ; I, who, at this distance, see things only in their plain natural light, am, I confess, under no apprehensions ; I consider a Highlander (with submission to you) as Rowe does a lord, who when opposed to a man, he affirms to be but a man ; from which principle I make this inference, that forty-nine thousand must beat eight thousand ; not to mention our sixteen new regiments, which must go for something, though in my opinion not for much. I have with much difficulty quieted the fears here, which were at first very strong, partly by contagion from England, and partly from old prejudices, which my good subjects are far from being yet above. They are in general still at the year 1689, and have not shook off any religious or political prejudice that prevailed at that time. However, I am very glad I am among them ; for in this little sphere, a little may do a great deal of

tion, changed his name to Mallet. By the influence of the family of the Duke of Montrose, whose sons he had educated, he gained admission to the society of wits, nobles, and statesmen. When the Prince of Wales was driven from the palace, he made Mallet his under-secretary. He also became the literary executor, first, of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for the purpose of writing the life of the duke, — a task which he did not perform ; and afterward of Lord Bolingbroke, whose works he edited. He died in 1765. See Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," edit. Cunningham, vol. iii.

good, but in England they must be much stronger shoulders than mine that can do any good at that bulky machine."

In a letter of the 29th November to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield says: "I must again repeat my most dutifull acknowledgments for his Majesty's repeated goodness to me, in granting the last recommendations I presum'd to lay before him, of Lord Mountjoy, &ra, as signify'd to me from Mr. Stone in his letter of ye 23rd by your Grace's order. The Bishop of Waterford died yesterday. His bishopric is one of the small ones, and admits of translation, but from three bishoprics which are something smaller. The person therefore whom I would most humbly recommend to succeed him, is the Bishop of Killaloe. . . ."

After stating the advantages of the change, he says: "The primate recommends Doctor Syngé in the most earnest manner for the bishopric of Killaloe, and he is so universally acknowledg'd to be the most *Papabile* that he has no competitors worth mentioning. I do not know him but by his character and have no consideration of my

¹ Doctor Chenevix, who thus became Bishop of Waterford. The Duke of Newcastle in a letter, 6 January, 1746, says: "The king came most readily into the promotion of Doctor Chenevix." See *ante*, pp. 262, 270-73, as to the king's objection to, and Lord Chesterfield's persistence in favour of Doctor Chenevix; a strong instance of the way in which Lord Chesterfield could make his influence felt.

own in recommending him to his Majesty's favour. . . .

"I am overjoy'd to hear that the duke has the command of the army now marching to Lancashire ; I only wish he may meet with those beggarly rascals ; if he does, his spirit and activity are to me sure pledges of his success."¹

The Duke of Newcastle in a letter of November 30th says : "Nothing very material has happen'd since my last, in our interior affairs. . . . Mr. Pitt continues cold and reserved ; and frequents none of us. Lyttelton, warm, eager, well inclined ; but partial in the greatest degree to Mr. Pitt, and his opinion. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Gower have all the good disposition we can wish ; act entirely in concert with us ; and approve of all we do ; and we will do nothing without them. Your friends, the Dutch, have passed a most unreasonable resolution ; demand more succours than those we furnish'd last campaign ; seem not to enter into the necessity of our recalling our troops, to suppress our own rebellion. . . .

"I reserved for the last to tell you your favour daily increases ; and his Majesty has both to me and my Brother approved extremely your conduct and behaviour, since you came into his service in a manner that really gives me great joy for the whole ; if I did not daily meet other disagreeable Drawbacks.

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 393.





"We have had a strong battle with Stair for raising six Scotch noble regiments; but we have stood it."¹

Lord Chesterfield, writing to the Duke of Newcastle on 6th December, acknowledging the above "kind letter," and writing at some length on foreign affairs, says: "I wish the trouble of the rebellion were over, for as for danger I confess I see none. I depend upon my Marcellus, the duke, for exterminating those rascals. . . . You did extremely right to repulse Stair's Scotch regiments, and for my own part I am very sorry to hear that any loyall Highlanders are to be arm'd at all. The proverb indeed says set a thief to catch a thief, but I beg leave to except Scotch thieves. And I both hope and believe that those to whom I see money is given to raise loyall Highlanders will put that money in their pocketts, and not raise a man.

"Upon my word, if you give way to Scotch importunitys and jobbs upon this occasion, you will have a rebellion every seven years at least. There must be alertness and vigour in crushing of this, and steady and unrelenting severity in punishing it afterward. Will you upon any sollicitation whatsoever suffer the notorious treachery of honest Stewart the provost of Edinburgh to pass unpunish'd? I have witnesses here who saw the dog receive the pretender into Edinburgh and do

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 397.

the honours of the town to him with the utmost duty and zeal.

"The French feed the rebellion, only to hinder it from dying of hunger, but not enough to make it thrive; it is only to incline you to negotiation, to which at present they think you wholly averse; as soon as they find the contrary, I am persuaded there will be an end of their assistance."¹

The rebellion was, however, now being suppressed. The Duke of Newcastle, writing to Lord Chesterfield, Jan. 6, 1745-6, says: "The vigour, activity, and courage of the duke, your young Marcellus, have drove the rebels to the place from whence they came. . . . I own I have a more mean opinion of them than I had before H.R.H., with an handful of men, chased them through great part of England. . . ."²

After giving a sketch of the state of parties, "Our young hero return'd yesterday morning, highly pleased with and satisfied with having drove the rebels into their own country, and having bravely retaken Carlisle, considering his

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,705, f. 415.

² Walpole, writing to Mann, Jan. 3, 1746, says: "I deferred writing to you till I could tell you that the rebellion was at an end in England. The duke has taken Carlisle, but was long enough before it to prove how basely or cowardly it was yielded to the rebels. His Royal Highness is expected in town every day, but I still think it probable that he will go to Scotland. That country is very clamorous for it. If the king does send him, it should not be with that sword of mercy with which the present family have governed those people."

strength and the materials he had to do it with. All the world is in love with him, and he deserves it. He is highly sensible of your good wishes for him. . . . I must beg that you would think of coming to England as soon as you can finish your affairs on the other side of the water; we want your advice, we want your assistance and support. . . . For my own part, I can most truly say I have the utmost confidence in, and reliance upon, your opinion and judgment; and the marks you have given me of your friendship have been such as have unfeignedly attach'd me to you.”¹

Lord Chesterfield, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, January 11th, after acknowledging the king's goodness in approving his late recommendations, says: “Your Grace sees I was not mistaken in the contemptible opinion I had of the Highlanders and in the great one I had of the duke. As I dare say Hawley² will act with vigour and spirit, I am persuaded those rascals will soon be

¹ “Newcastle Papers,” 32,706, f. 17.

² “There is a military magistrate of some fierceness sent into Scotland with Wade's army, who is coming to town; it is General Hawley. He will not sow the seeds of future disloyalty by too easily pardoning the present.” “I must give you some idea of this man, who will give a mortal blow to the pride of the Scotch nobility. He is called Lord Chief Justice; frequent and sudden executions are his passion. Last winter he had intelligence of a spy to come from the French army; the first notice our army had of his arrival was by seeing him dangle on a gallows in his muff and boots.” — *Walpole to Mann*, January 3 and 17, 1746.

destroy'd, but as I hope and believe he will act with rigour too, I make no doubt but that representations will be made against him, even by the loyal part, as it's call'd, of that kingdom. The mischief that has been done I am sure requires that some examples should be made." ¹

And in another letter of the same date: "Your domestick difficultys (I mean those only that relate to the rebellion) are greatly lessn'd if not entirely remov'd; . . . and if Hawley acts with spirit, as I verily believe he will, you will see the troubles in Scotland ended in two months' time at furthest. . . ." After treating with contempt the apprehensions, which the Duke of Newcastle had expressed, of a French invasion, "I wish your affairs at St. James's and Westminster were in as good a way; but I confess, there I am bewilder'd. I am astonish'd and griev'd at the unaccountable conduct of Pitt; who, I hear (but I don't know whether it is true), is reconnected with young master; and by your letter young master seems to announce opposition. In that case, let me give you one piece of advice, which is to avail yourselves to the utmost in the closet of his opposition, and to have no other regard or managements for him than what mere decency absolutely requires. I know him better than you do, and I know he has neither love nor hatred in his temper, and those who are the worst with him to-day are as

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 33.

likely as those who are the best to be well with him to-morrow. The messages of Lords Granville and Bath that they will not oppose, though he should, are in my mind a gross collusion, and I hope no necessity whatsoever will reduce you even to temporise with those two lords. You know the insolence, the perfidy, and the wildness of 'em both, in their different ways; they can bring you no friends, for they have not one in the world, but they may lose you many."

After some remarks upon the possibility of forming an administration without Pitt, "You did very right to tell the king that I would not disturb such a scheme of administration; I shall not disavow you if Gower and the Duke of Bedford continue in; and if they don't, I shall disturb no scheme, nor be concern'd in any, but be quiet for the rest of my life.

"But I have said too much upon these domestic affairs already, which, at this distance, it is ridiculous to say anything at all upon, every moment and a thousand circumstances changing perpetually the state of the case. . . .

"Nothing can be more obliging than your desiring me to return to England as soon as possible, and the reasons you give for desiring it, but I assure you I do not want pressing for that. And I will not stay one moment longer than necessary. My drudgery here is uninterrupted and intolerable to one naturally so lazy as I am.

"The Parliament here cannot possibly be up till the second week in March, and then I believe I shall not delay my journey many days. It is a very small compliment, for it is a very great truth to tell you that I shall be exceedingly impatient to see you in England."¹

"The Duke of Newcastle, in a letter to Lord Chesterfield of 10th February, acquaints him that Lord Harrington and he had that day resigned the seals, and that his brother and some others would do the same the next day, upon a firm conviction that the king's dislike of his ministers, and unwillingness to give them the necessary support, made it impracticable to carry on his affairs with success; and in a letter of the same date, to the Duke of Cumberland, congratulating him upon his great and glorious success and upon the finishing stroke which his R. H. had now given to the rebellion in Scotland, he also states that he and Lord Harrington had that day resigned their offices."²

These resignations were brought about by the rash attempt of Lords Granville and Bath to overthrow the ministry; the king having at the instigation of the latter lord absolutely refused to make Pitt secretary at war. In a long letter of the 18th February, the Duke of Newcastle, giving the details of this affair to Lord Chesterfield, tells that Mr. Pitt, who for some time had had no commerce

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 35.

² "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, ff. 136, 138.

upon business with any of the ministers, had expressed an inclination to come into the government; that the king was very unwilling to accept Mr. Pitt as secretary at war; that Lord Bath got to the king and strengthened his dislike to Mr. Pitt; that the king being unwilling to give any assurance of his countenance or support, and plainly showing a most determined predilection for the other party, the ministers had consequently on the 10th and following days nearly all resigned their offices; but that Lord Bath and Lord Granville, being unable to form an administration, the ministers had returned to their posts.

"In all situations, your presence is most agreeable to your friends. In our present circumstances, it is absolutely necessary, and therefore I must conjure you to make what haste you can to us."¹

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 164. Walpole to Mann, 7 February. Walpole, in a letter to Mann of February 14th, describing this "insurrection in the closet," says: "I should tell you, too, that Lord Bath's being of the enterprise contributed hugely to poison the success of it. In short, his lordship, whose politics were never characterised by steadiness, found that he had not courage enough to take the treasury. . . . Lord Granville is as jolly as ever; laughs and drinks, and owns it was mad, and owns he would do it again to-morrow. . . . It was a good idea of somebody, when no man would accept a place under the new system, that Granville and Bath were met going about the streets, calling odd man, as the hackney chairmen do when they want a partner. This little faction of Lord Granville goes by the name of the Grand-villains."

The following letter from Lord Chesterfield was evidently written on the first news of the ministers' resignation, and its postscript on receiving the Duke of Newcastle's account of the failure of the enterprise :¹

“DUBLIN CASTLE, February 18, 1746.

“MY DEAR LORD :— Though I threaten'd you, in my last of the 15th, with a longer letter, this shall not be a very long one ; for, besides that I am not, at any time, very fond of my own speculations, all speculations at this distance, and in such a conjuncture, are probably impertinent. A situation so violent must vary every minute ; and will (I dare say) be very different at the time of your receiving this letter from what it is now at the time I am writing it.

“I am convinc'd I need not tell you that the day after my arrival in London I shall most certainly resign my employment ; as to the manner of doing it, I will receive and observe your directions. But this I think necessary to tell you, which is, that though I believe most people have a good opinion enough of me to take it for granted that I intend to quit, yet I have not communicated that intention to any one person living, either here or in England, but leave it entirely to you, to publish

¹ This letter has been already printed, but inaccurately, first, in Coxe's "Pelham Administration," and secondly in Lord Mahon's edition, and is now given from the original manuscript.

or not, as you shall think proper. Let me only know which you do, that I may conform myself here to it.

“During the rest of my stay here, which shall be as short as I can possibly make it, though it cannot be half so short as I wish it, I must necessarily send my recommendations to your successor, whoever he may be ; but I will take care that those recommendations shall be of such a nature only, as that, if they prevail, I shall only have a civility but not an obligation to acknowledge. In the meantime my situation is extremely disagreeable ; and God knows when it will end, for I have no great hopes that the Council in England will give much attention or dispatch to my Irish bills ; so that I may possibly have full leisure to learn the language, if I apply myself.

“It seems to me impossible that the two earls can carry on the business, unless they have a strength in Parliament which I am not aware of, for I take it for granted that by much the greatest part of your old corps will stick to you ; and I cannot think that many of the old opposition will desert ; so that, in my mind, your situation is better than it has been this great while, as your way is clearer ; you must be call'd for again, and that upon your own terms. When that day comes, and I think it cannot be far off, *point de foiblesse humaine, point de quartier*, I beseech you ; and let no ill-timed decency, can-

dour, lenity, or heroism, weaken or spoil the best and most solid settlement of an administration that it was ever in people's power to form. In short, do not be *subjectum lenis in hostem*. . . .

"P. S. Tuesday night. Just as I was sending away my letter by an express, I receiv'd Mr. Stone's of the 14th, which show'd me that I was no bad prophet. And to do honour to my spirit of prophecy, I send you the letter itself, by the common post, which you are again master of. Your victory is compleat; for God's sake pursue it. Good policy, still more than resentment, requires that Granville and Bath should be mark'd out, and all their people cut off. . . . Everybody now sees and knows that you have the power; let them see and know, too, that you will use it. . . . A general run ought to be made upon Bath, by all your followers and writers. If the rebels had pursued their victory at Preston Pans, they might have come to London, and we had been undone, as they are now, by their own neglect. If we had pursued the victory at Dettinghen, Fontenoy had never been. As to your humble servant, all he desires for himself is, dispatch to his Irish bills, of which he will send you another cargo the latter end of this week."¹

And writing again to the Duke of Newcastle on the 23d February, in answer to his letter of

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 176.

the 18th: "Things are now upon a right foot, and you are ministers for life if you please; as far as you have gone, is in my opinion extremely well, but I still think you should go a little further, — I mean with regard to the Finchs more upon account of the scandal their continuance may give, and the suspicions it may create, than for any importance of its own. Moreover, after the Duke of Bolton, Lord Berkeley &c are remov'd, they will be suppos'd to have some particular hold, some distinguish'd favour in the closet if they remain in." ¹

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on February 27th, commenting upon the ministerial changes, "Your own people were never alarm'd really at the torys whose inefficiency and insignificancy in business they well knew; but only dreaded the talents of Pitt and that set, who they knew if they joyn'd with you, would either have the lead given 'em, or would take it. In that they judg'd right, and you will find that will be the case."

After advising him to engage so many of the Torys as to leave the rest only a fraction, "or, if you will, a faction," "You will I am sure find your own people much easier about the torys than they us'd to be; when Pitt the tory they feared is once in. But, I promise you, he will not be easy till he is secretary at war, and Dick Grenville of the treasury. . . .

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 197.

"Would it be amiss for you to cultivate Lady Yarmouth¹ more than you have hitherto done? She certainly can give good or bad impressions in the many hours conversations she has; for even the wisest man, like theameleon, takes without knowing it more or less of the hue of what he is often upon. . . . Though I am obliged to you for wishing me in England, I assure you you need not invite me there. I have had royalty enough, God knows, and am very impatient to return to the state of an English subject. Your return of my bills from the council determines mine to England. I will hurry 'em through the Parliament as soon as possible, and then in a most gracious speech prorogue it. Don't think by this that I imagine I can be of any use to you in England; rather the contrary; and very possibly some silly accident may happen to me at my arrival, for in the present situation of mind, in which I take his Majesty to be, he may probably be glad to ease himself upon one whose resentment could be of no consequence."²

The Duke of Newcastle, writing to Lord Chesterfield on 5th March, says: "My politicks as to Scotland are exactly the same with yours. The rebellion must be got the better of in such a manner that we must not have another the next year. . . . Your young Marcellus has very wisely

¹ See *ante*, p. 137.

² "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 221.

stopt the Hessians in Scotland upon the reassembling of the rebels; their taking Inverness; and the indisposition which he found in that part of the country to the king's government. I think, by this measure, and the cordon made by the Hessians, his Royal Highness will put an end to the rebellion. . . .

"Your suggestion with regard to a certain great person is a very kind and a very wise one; and attention will be given to it. If that could be brought about, things might go much more pleasantly.

"As to yourself; I really hope and believe you will find yourself under a mistake. I think things are greatly alter'd; and if you suffer now, I really believe it will be not for your own sins but for ours. But I can never think upon your subject without congratulating myself and my brother upon the acquisition of the most honourable and the most estimable friend that ever two men had.

"I will get my lord president to post back to you your Irish bills, so that I will flatter myself that we shall have the honour and pleasure of seeing you here soon. For indeed we want you, to add weight, solidity, and firmness to our system; and to connect us all thoroughly together; and in what immediately relates to my own department, I really want your opinion and advice."¹

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, 11th

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 247.

March, after recommending the appointment of several noblemen as new members of the council, he says :

“The Dublin Society is really a very useful establishment. It consists of many considerable people, and has been kept up hitherto by voluntary subscriptions. They give premiums for the improvement of lands, for plantations, for manufactures. They furnish many materials for those improvements in the poorer and less cultivated parts of this kingdom, and have certainly done a great deal of good. The bounty they apply for to his Majesty is five hundred pounds a year, which, in my humble opinion, would be properly bestowed ; but I entirely submit it. . . .”¹

“Having now finished, as I hope, all my recommendations for some time, I must beg leave to assure your Grace that they are, every one of them, the recommendations of his Majesty’s lord lieutenant only, and that I am neither directly nor indirectly, in my private capacity, concerned in any one of them. I have neither retainer, friend, nor favourite among them.

“I have one request more to trouble your Grace

¹ “Last Tuesday the Dublin Society, consisting of a great number of lords, commons, and others, waited on the lord lieutenant to thank him for his good offices in obtaining his Majesty’s grant of £500 a year, when his Excellency was pleased to express his satisfaction in having any opportunity of showing his regard to a society which had been so very useful to the kingdom.” — *Dublin Journal*, Tuesday, April 8th to April 12th.

with, which indeed concerns myself singly, and that is, that your Grace will be pleased to apply to his Majesty for his gracious permission for me to return to England, to lay myself at his feet. I shall by that time have been here near eight months, during which time I have endeavoured to carry on his Majesty's service. If I have failed, it must have been only from want of abilities; for my zeal, I am sure, was not wanting, and I must, with the warmest and most respectful gratitude, acknowledge that his Majesty's indulgence to all my recommendations has given me all the credit and weight I was capable of receiving."¹

Writing again to the Duke of Newcastle on the same day, concerning the rebels: "For my part, I would put a price upon the heads of 'em, and then they would bring in and destroy one another. And why not? There is already a price upon the Pretender's head, who is the only one among 'em to be pitied or justified. And why not put a price upon the Drummonds, the Gordons, the Glen-gairys, and the rest of those rascals. They are not enemies, but criminals, we cannot be at war with 'em; and I would have an exception in favour of the troops sent by France, who should be treated like fair enemies. . . .

"I would also forbid provisions of any kind's being sent upon any pretence whatsoever (unless directly to the duke's army) into Scotland, and I

¹ "Letters," iii. p. 173.

would starve the loyal with the disloyal, if the former thought proper to remain with the latter.

"These are my notions concerning the rebellion, and I will undertake they would put an end to it in six weeks.

"I count the days with impatience till I can have the pleasure of seeing you in England. If my last batch of bills returns as soon as I think it may, I hope to prorogue the Parliament about the last of this month, or the first week in April, and in about a fortnight after to arrive at St. James's and be most graciously received. As to that you know my sentiments, and that they go no further than a neutrality. But if you, numerous as you are, are all to be whipp'd upon my breech, that part of me, besides its own demerit, will have a fine time on't.

"Dayrolles¹ has been impetuous upon the late events, and, if he had been in England, would have been kill'd in single combat, which I expected, when he came here first, would have happened to him in this kingdom. But I thank God he has had a thousand accidents; the most important one was, cracking the great muscle of his leg, in a menuet, with a fine lady, whom he left in the mid-

¹ Lord Chesterfield's friend and constant correspondent. Mr. Dayrolles was not handsome, as will appear from hints in letters to him hereafter. Lord Chesterfield had appointed him black-rod at the castle, and gave the "ingenious reason, that he had a black face." — *Walpole to Mann*, May 19, 1747.

dle of it, to shift for herself ; and hopp'd off with precipitation." ¹

And in his next letter, on the 20th March, he says : " I assure you I will not stay here one moment longer than is absolutely necessary, the return of the bills from England will fix that moment. If you knew the life I lead here, you would not suspect me of prolonging it one instant. . . .

"The duke's report from Scotland verifys the opinion I have always had and declar'd of that country, and while that favourable distinction remains of loyall and disloyall the rebellion will never be extinguish'd. Recall your Scotch heroes, starve the whole country indiscriminately by your ships, put a price upon the heads of the chiefs, and let the duke put all to fire and sword. Here is one of the rascals, a Maclaughlin, who, as I am inform'd, is come over to raise some men to carry to Scotland ; I intend to put a price of two hundred pounds upon him as soon as I am sure he is here." ²

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on March 23d, Lord Chesterfield shows that, desirous as he was of returning to England, he was as vigilant as ever in his precautions against the rebels :

"Notwithstanding the utmost care I can take, and even some measures which I could not strictly justify, to hinder the rebels in Scotland from receiving provisions from hence, I have a great deal

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 286.

² "Newcastle Papers," 32,706, f. 323.

of reason to apprehend that they are frequently supplied with grain and meal by little boats which they send from Scotland to creeks and little places in the north of Ireland. As a proof of this, new Spanish pistoles, and, what is more surprising, Scotch money, are pretty common now in Ulster. As I have not a single ship here of any kind, I cannot watch the coast; but I should think his Majesty has small ships enough upon the coast of Scotland to hinder the going out and the return of those Scotch boats or other vessels to and from Scotland. . . . And if a couple of his Majesty's ships were order'd to bring all they could find into the port of Dublin, where I would take care they should be kept, and to burn the rest, that source of fresh supplys would be cut off. . . . I must add likewise, what I equally know to be true, that the provisions allow'd to be sent from England to those who are call'd the loyall clans are by some fatality or other always shar'd by disloyall ones. Provisions is all those rascals want in their holes and dens to teize us these seven years; and while, upon any pretence whatsoever, provisions are sent into Scotland, they will share 'em. If Scotland is not now to be consider'd and treated as an emeny's country, I don't know what country ever can. I have lately seized and still detain a ship at Drogheda, loaded with grain and meal, and navigated by six Highland scoundrels in their plads. They first pretended they were going coastways to Bel-

fast, and when that would not do, they confess'd they were going to Scotland to supply his Majesty's loyall clans. But as I am not yet acquainted with those loyall clans, I do not suffer 'em to proceed."¹

In a P. S., after stating that he had received commands from the duke to send certain ammunition to Fort William, besieged by the rebels, and that he had executed his R. H.'s commands as far as he was able, he says: "His Royal Highness does me the honour to acquaint me among other things that, though the loyall Lord Seaforth is with Lord Loudoun, his wife and his people are in open rebellion with the Pretender, and that the loyall Laird of Grant's people have sign'd a neutrality with the rebels.² If such gross collusions are not most exemplarily punish'd, Scotland will never be without a rebellion, because a rebellion will be without any danger of forfeitures."

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,706.

² "As much as you know, and as much as you have lately heard of Scotch finesse, you will yet be startled at the refinements that nation have made upon their own policy. Lord Fortrose, whose father was in the last rebellion, and who has himself been restored to his fortune, is in Parliament and in the army: he is with the duke — his wife and his clan with the rebels. . . . The clan of the Grants, always esteemed the most Whig tribe, have literally in all the forms signed a neutrality with the rebels." — *Walpole to Mann, March 28th.*

Lord Fortrose, though called Lord Seaforth, had not taken the title, in consequence of his father's attainder after the rebellion of 1715.

The Duke of Newcastle, writing to Lord Chesterfield on the 6th April, says : " There has been a most ridiculous story which has prevail'd about town, of Lord Granville's being to come in, with my brother and me, and my Lord Harrington to go out. I hope you think us neither such fools nor such knaves as to be capable of such a thing. . . .

" I am much obliged to you for communicating to me with so much freedom your thoughts about Scotland. Your notions in general are certainly right, and I hope will be followed, as far as you seriously would think they should.¹

" They are much tasted in the closet ; where I am sure you are thought, at least, a good minister for Scotland. . . .

" It is a satisfaction to me, that however awkward things were at your first setting out, nothing of that kind has appeared to your subjects in Ireland : as his Majesty has most readily, and

¹ It is evident from these words that the Duke of Newcastle did not quite agree with Lord Chesterfield's violent advice about the mode of dealing with the rebellion ; and in a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, March 21st, his Grace writes : " I know your R. H.'s zeal for the king, devotion to his service, and detestation of this rebellion will not suffer you to omit anything that may be necessary for putting a speedy end to it. At the same time I should be wanting in my duty to your R. H. did I not equally depend that your R. H. will not give any just cause of complaint to a country so ill-disposed to the king, and so willing to find fault with everything that is done for his Majesty's service." — *Newcastle Papers*, 32,706, f. 325.

indeed graciously, taken every recommendation, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, that has come from you since you have been in Ireland." ¹

Lord Chesterfield's last letter from Ireland is to the Duke of Newcastle on the 11th April :

"This is only to acknowledge your letter of the 6th. I this day put an end to the Parliament and embark next Thursday, if the wind will allow me, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in about a week afterward. You will easily judge of the hurry I must be in now, and easily excuse an abrupt conclusion from yours, c." ²

His departure was, however, delayed till Wednesday, April 23d, respecting which the following lines were published in allusion to his being shut in by the east wind :

"EUROCLYDON : ³ OR, A THOUGHT UPON AN EASTERLY WIND.

"Let sages now repeal their doubtful saws
And own they comprehend not Nature's Laws.
Long have they sung, Winds driving from the East,
Predict misfortunes dire to man and beast.
But what has beast or favoured man to fear
When that indulgent wind keeps Stanhope here ?

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,707, f. 21.

² "Newcastle Papers, 32,707, f. 49.

³ *Εὐρος· κλειδός.*

The one good thing, Ierne's former boast,
Unkindly drives her darling from her coast.
Henceforth let Eastern gales propitious reign,
Since what detains him, wafts him back again."

"A certain person of distinction said once that one was always sure of getting out of Ireland by the help of the only good thing in it, — a westerly wind." ¹

His next letter is on the 24th of the same month, from Parkgate: "After a very good passage I am this moment landed here, from whence I set out to-morrow morning, and, barring accidents, shall kiss your hands on Thursday, May-day, upon which day I require you either to give or procure me a dinner.

"For many reasons I think it will be better that I should kiss the king's hand at his levee than go into the closet, therefore pray let it be so, and don't endeavour to facilitate or procure a private reception for me, which can have no good, and may have some silly effects." ²

¹ *Dublin Journal*, April 22d to 26th.

² "Newcastle Papers," 32,707, f. 96.

The Bishop of Raphoe, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, 26 April, announcing the departure of Lord Chesterfield, says: "'Tis almost impossible to exceed in describing the universal love and respect that has been expressed on every occasion to the lord lieutenant by every degree of people, or the obliging manner in which they were accepted and returned. There are very few of any station, but have received some distinguishing mark of his notice and favour." — *Newcastle Papers*, 32,707.

The above and some preceding letters show that Lord Chesterfield felt that, although his successful administration of affairs in Ireland had softened the king's feelings toward him politically, his Majesty's personal dislike had not been removed ; it is therefore not surprising that the earl should have desired to avoid a private interview, and possibly another cool reception. The circumstance not only affords a curious illustration of the relations between princes and ministers at that period, but is also another instance of Lord Chesterfield's thorough independence of character. Nor does it appear that the earl had any interview with the king until his appointment as secretary of state made his reception in the closet necessary.

No more need be said of the rebellion than that it was entirely put an end to by the complete victory gained over the rebels in April at the battle of Culloden.¹

Lord Chesterfield's arrival in London was somewhat delayed by illness, for on April 30th he writes from Dunstable to the Duke of Newcastle: "I asked you for a dinner to-day, which I cannot have the pleasure of eating, for on Tuesday evening, I was taken ill of a fever, and my old giddynesses in my head, at Whooburne, and with difficulty got on here that night, where I kept my bed all yester-

¹ Letter from the duke to the Duke of Newcastle, April 23, 1746. — *Newcastle Papers*, 32, 707, f. 87. Walpole to Mann, April 25th and May 16th.

day. I shall set out this morning and hope to be able to reach London to-night, or to-morrow morning at furthest." But on May 1st, he writes again to the duke, excusing himself, for the same reason, from attending a debate which was to take place the following day.¹

Although Lord Chesterfield was not destined to return to his post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he continued to take an active interest in everything relating to the country; and in the letters he from time to time addressed to his friends there, the wise advice which he gave on various subjects has ever since been as applicable as when it was written.

In a letter to Thomas Prior,² on the 14th June, he says:

"As you are one of the few in Ireland, who always think of the public, without any mixture of private interest, I do not doubt but that you have already thought of some useful methods of employing the king's bounty to the Dublin Society. The late additional tax upon glass here, as it must considerably raise the price of glass bottles imported into Ireland, seems to point out the manufacturing them there; which consideration, with a small premium added to it, would, in my mind, set up

¹ "Newcastle Papers," 32,707, ff. 126, 142.

² A highly respected country gentleman, by whom, with the assistance of Doctor Madden, the Royal Dublin Society was founded, for the promotion of arts, sciences, and manufactures.

such a manufacture. Fine writing and printing paper, we have often talked of together ; and the specimen you gave me, before I left Dublin, proves that nothing but care and industry is wanting to bring that manufacture to such a perfection as to prevent the exportation of it from Holland, and through Holland from France ; nay, I am convinced that you might supply England with a great deal if you pleased, that is, if you would make it, as you could do, both good and cheap. . . .”

After recommending the manufacture of starch from potatoes, he continues :

“These are the sorts of jobs that I wish people in Ireland would attend to with as much industry and care, as they do to jobs of a very different nature. These honest arts would solidly increase their fortunes, and improve their estates, upon the only true and permanent foundation, the public good. Leave us and your regular forces in Ireland to fight for you ; think of your manufactures at least as much as of your militia, and be as much upon your guard against poverty as against popery ; take my word for it, you are in more danger of the former than of the latter.

“I hope my friend, the Bishop of Meath,¹ goes

¹ Dr. Henry Maule. “This day (April 7th) the first stone of the Charter School of this place was laid. . . . Twenty acres of see land are set apart by the Bishop of Meath for that use. . . . The building will be large enough to receive forty children of popish parents, twenty of each sex, to be educated in the

on prosperously with his charter schools. I call them his, for I really think that without his care and perseverance they would hardly have existed now. Though their operation is sure, yet, being slow, it is not suited to the Irish taste of the time present only; and I cannot help saying, that, except in your claret, which you are very solicitous should be two or three years old, you think less of two or three years hence than any people under the sun. If they would but wish themselves as well as I wish them; and take as much pains to promote their own true interest, as I should be glad to do to contribute to it, they would in a few years be in a very different situation from that which they are in at present. Go on, however, you and our other friends; be not weary of well-doing, and though you cannot do all the good you would, do all the good you can." ¹

And writing again to the same gentleman upon the same subjects on July 15th:

"The manufacture of glass bottles cannot possibly fail, but from want of care and industry; for as the price of glass bottles is risen considerably here, upon account of the new duty, if you would but make them in Ireland, you are sure of sale for them; and I should hope, at least, that consider-

Protestant religion, and trained up to labour and industry, chiefly in agriculture and the linen manufacture." — *Dublin Journal*, Saturday, April 5th, to Tuesday, April 8, 1745-6.

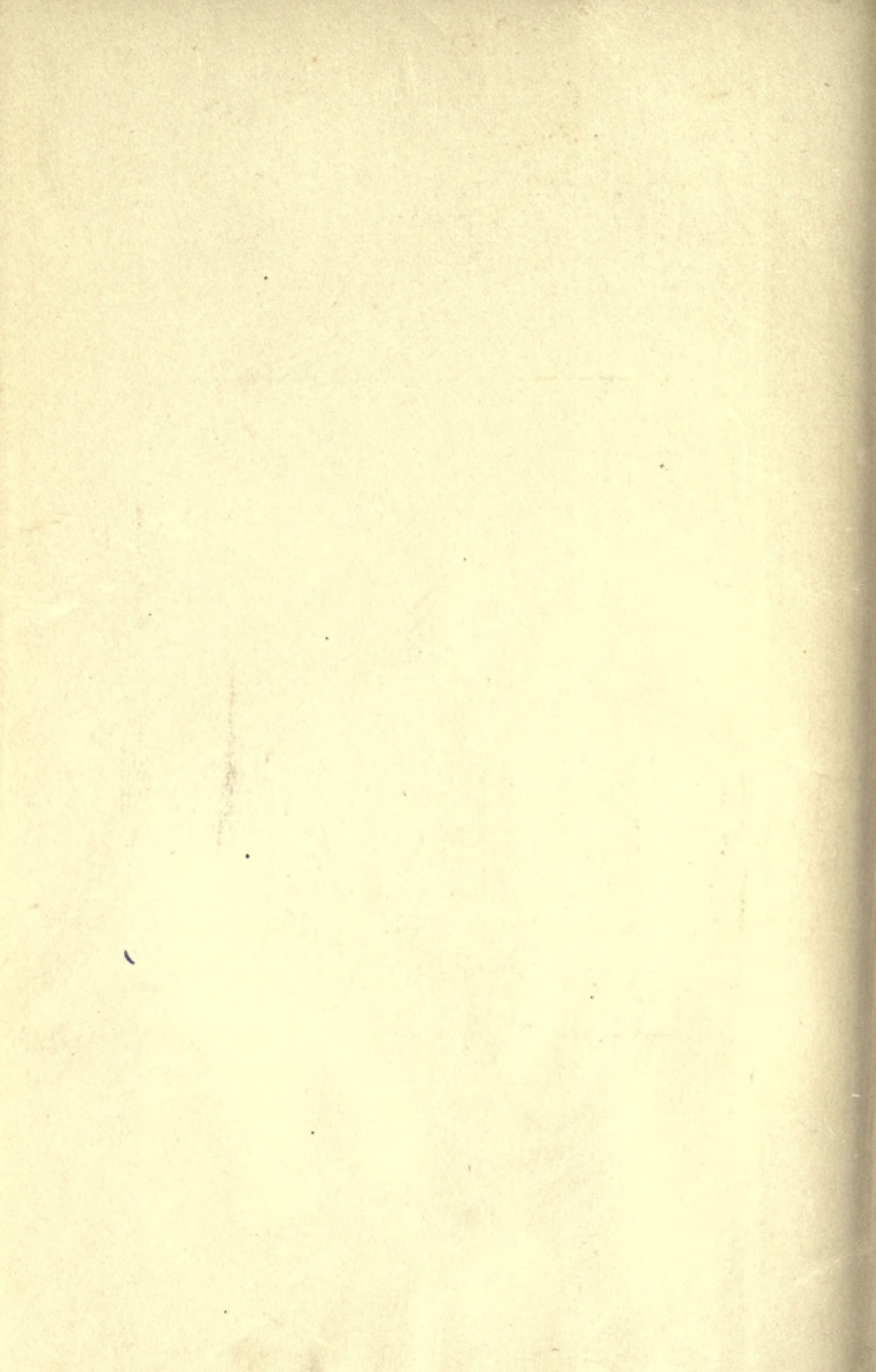
¹ "Letters," iii. p. 175.

ing the close connection there is between bottles and claret, this manufacture, though your own, may meet with encouragement." And with respect to paper making : "I am convinced that, if this manufacture were carefully and diligently pursued, you might in time not only entirely supply yourselves, but us too, with great part of that paper which we now take from Holland and other countries. But then, indeed, you must make it cheap as well as good, and, contrary to your custom, content yourselves with less present profit, in order to get possession of a future and permanent advantage." ¹

"Letters," iii. p. 177.

END OF VOLUME I.





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